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ART. I.—SLAVERY AMONG THE ANCIENT HEBREWS :
FROM BIBLICAL AND TALMUDIC SOURCES.

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II.—SLAVES OF FOREIGN DESCENT.

§ 14.

a. Nations from which such Slaves were usually taken.

THE actual slaves among the Hebrews, those that could be permanently held in bondage, might, according to the Mosaic law (Levit. xxv, 44-46), be taken in part from the midst of the surrounding nations, in part from the strangers and residents in the conquered lands; but they could not be taken from the midst of the Canaanite nations, to whom the country originally belonged, since these people, sunk in immorality and idolatry, were to be utterly destroyed out of the land

* Continued from page 260.

(Deut. xx, 16-19), so as to remove all temptation from the immigrating Israelites. But as the total extirpation of these nations did not in fact take place—many still remaining within the domain of the Israelites (Judges i, 28)—it was a natural consequence, that, in later times, most of the slaves were obtained from among these very Canaanites. And this is the reason why, with the Rabbins, a *Canaanitish slave* is the usual designation for all slaves not of Hebrew origin.*

§ 15.

b. The Original Acquisition of these Slaves.

A slave of foreign descent might be obtained in a threefold way, viz.

1. By *purchase*: as when slaves, or prisoners of war, or children sold by their parents on account of poverty, were bought from these neighboring nations. This was doubtless the most common mode of obtaining them, and such slaves, in distinction from those born in the house, are frequently described in the Scriptures as '*bought for money*.'

2. By *contract*: as when individuals, among the strangers dwelling in the land, who could not maintain themselves by free labor, voluntarily sold themselves into slavery for a time or forever, in order to get rid of the necessity of self-support.

3. By *conquest in war*:† as when prisoners of war, taken

* It is also possible that the Rabbins intended by this name to designate the *actual* slave, in contrast with the Hebrew slave, who was not *really* such; so that *Canaanite* here contains an allusion to Genesis ix, 25 sq., where Canaan is accursed as "*the slave of slaves*," that is, as the lowest of slaves. (See Rashi on *Kiduschin*, 22, b.

† In the Mishna, *Kiduschin*, i, 3, a threefold mode of acquiring slaves is denoted by the words, *בבכס, בשטר, וברחוקה*; which may correspond with the above three, by purchase, compact, and the fortunes of war. But the passage in the Mishna strictly refers, not to the *original* acquisition of slaves, but only to the mode in which, when property was transferred, the master's right to slaves (as to other property) was defined, viz. by *money*, *document*, or *actual possession* (the latter, so far as they were actually served by the slaves).

on the field, or in plundering the cities of the enemy, forfeited their freedom, and became the slaves of the victors. Among the Hebrews, however, the number of slaves, especially males, could not have been much increased in this way, since the most ancient laws of war (Deut. xx, 10-19) imposed strict limits upon sparing the lives of men taken in a just war. *Man-stealing*, by stealth or violence, which was an ordinary mode of acquiring slaves among the ancient nations, was held in such abhorrence, that, when it occurred in the case of a Hebrew, it was, like murder, punished with death (Exod. xxi, 16; Deut. xxiv, 7).

The number of slaves was largely increased by the children of bondwomen, born of slave-marriages, who, as "children of the maid-servant," or as "born in the house," belonged to the master. They were always regarded as the best and most trustworthy servants, because they had grown up in the family, and were acquainted with all its circumstances, and hence their faith and attachment could be more relied upon (Gen. xiv, 14).

§ 16.

c. Number and Value of Slaves.

From the lack of accurate data, the number of all these slaves among the Hebrews at different times cannot be definitely ascertained. Many circumstances, however, lead to the conclusion, that it was small in comparison with the huge masses of slaves* held by the Greeks and Romans. A superfluity of slaves implies an extensive slave-traffic and special slave marts. Of neither of these is there a trace among the Hebrews.†

* According to Athenæus, the number of slaves in Attica alone was 400,000, in Corinth, 460,000, in the small island of Egina, 470,000. In Rome, in the times of the emperors, many wealthy citizens had from 10,000 to 20,000 slaves.

† The Mishna speaks first of the public sale of slaves in the market; compare *Baba Kama*, viii, 1, עבד הנמכר בשוק: but this does not imply an extensive slave-traffic, in markets established for this purpose. The phrase אבך הלוקח,

It is only at the time of the return from the Babylonian Captivity, that we have any data from which we can estimate the probable proportion of slaves to freemen. According to Ezra, ii, 64, 65, and Nehemiah, vii, 67, there were 7337 slaves in the train of the 42,360 returning exiles. Hence the average was, one slave to five or six free persons; or, one slave to a family, since the average number of the family was from five to six. This proportion was probably the normal one at different periods. In the more wealthy and powerful families there may, indeed, have sometimes been a larger number of slaves, for the care of herds, for husbandage, or for different domestic services; but, on the other hand, many of the poorer families often had none at all (Prov. xii, 9); and several families sometimes held one slave together, who performed service for them on different days.* In the time of the second temple, we know that no slaves were held by the Essenes, or by the Therapeutæ; for those sects rejected all slavery, as in contravention with the natural equality of men.† The Pharisees, too, were on moral grounds opposed to the holding of many slaves, and recommended instead for household service the employment of indigent Hebrews.‡

The price of a slave was naturally different at different times; it was also determined by age, sex, health, strength, as well as capacity and skill. From Exodus xxi, 32, defining the sum to be paid for a slave killed by an ox, it appears that the average price of a common slave (male or female) was thirty shekels. If, as many conjecture in respect to the valuation of persons in Levit. xxvii, 1-8, the legal price of slaves is made the basis, then this price varied, according to age and sex, from three to fifty shekels; slaves from twenty to sixty years of age bore the highest price, and female slaves were of less

which occurs in the *Siphra* to Levit. xxv, 42 (see, also, Maimonides, *Abad.* i, 5), to designate the elevation of stone, on which slaves were exposed for public sale, refers probably only to the well-known Roman custom at the sale of slaves. Compare the expression, "de lapide emtus," in Cic. in Pis. 15.

* A case frequently recognised in the Talmudic law; e. g. *Baba Kama*, 90.

† Philo, *Opera*, ed. Mangez, ii, 458, 482.

‡ See Mishna, *Aboth*, ii, 8, and i, 5. Compare also *Baba Mezia*, 60, b.

value than male. In the later period of Jewish history, Josephus* names 12 drachmas as the ransom of an Israelite prisoner, and this was probably at that period the average price of a slave. As the shekel in later times was worth about four Attic drachmas (the drachma being about 18 cents),† the value would be about 30 shekels as before; but these shekels were heavier than those of the time of Moses.

§ 17.

d. The Legal Position of Slaves.

Though the position assigned by the Mosaic law to heathen slaves was essentially different from that of the Hebrew man-servant, since the latter belonged to his master only for a fixed time, and was regarded rather as a hired servant, while the former was held permanently, and could be inherited (Levit. xxv, 46); yet the circumstances of the foreign bondman were much more favorable than in any other nation of antiquity. Among other nations, as is well known, the slave was held in law as a chattel (thing) deprived of all personality, so that the master could treat him according to his caprice, and might even kill him;‡ among the Hebrews, on the contrary, the slave, though the property of the master, was not regarded as a thing, but as *personal* property. In fact he was held to be property only so far as this—that the master had the entire claim to his labor and the fruits thereof; but still, as the slave could never cease to be a *man*, he was looked upon as a *person* with certain natural human rights, which even the master could not impair without being punished for it.

From this point of view a clear light is cast upon the Biblical and Talmudic statements about the legal relations of slaves. Considered as the property of the master, he could be bought

* Josephus, Antiq. xii, 2, 3.

† Josephus, Antiq. iii. 8, 2.

‡ See Heineccius, Antiq. Rom. 1 Tit. iii, ii, on Roman slaves. Non pro personis, sed pro rebus, immo pro nullis habebantur, etc. Compare, too, Gaius, Instit. 1, 52: Apud omnes peræque gentes animadvertere possumus, dominis in servos vitæ necisque potestatem esse.

or inherited, given away or pledged.* As a person, on the other hand, his life, and the preservation of his body and its members, were inalienable goods, to which the power of the master did not reach. Hence, though the master might force him to obedience by chastisement, yet he could only make use of this punishment in its lighter forms. The killing of a slave outright, even when it resulted from smiting with a stick or rod, was to be avenged (Exodus xxi, 20, in the margin of the English version); i. e. according to the Rabbinic interpretation, it was to be atoned by the execution of the master. If the death did not follow at once, but after some days, so that the chastisement could not be certainly regarded as the cause of the death, the master was free from other punishment ('for he was his money,' verse 21), since he was supposed to be punished by the loss of the slave. But if the master, in punishing, used an instrument, a blow from which would plainly be fatal, his own life was forfeited, even when the death of the slave followed after some interval of time.† To smite the eye, so that it perished, or to smite out the tooth, or to injure any part of the body so that it could not be restored to its integrity‡, was followed by the freedom of the slave (Exodus xxi, 26, 27).

As the slave was the property of the master, he could not acquire anything for himself. In this respect the maxim held good, that "the hand of the slave is the hand of the master;"§ or, "what the slave gains, he gains for the master."|| The master had not only a claim to what the slave acquired by labor, what he found, or what he might receive as a gift, but must also be indemnified for any injuries which others might inflict upon him.

* But the pledging of a slave did not fully secure the creditor, as the debtor could declare the pledged slave to be free. Compare Mishna, *Gittin*, iv, 4.

† Compare Maimonides, "On Murder," ii, 14.

‡ See *Kiduschin*, 24. Twenty-four parts of the body are there enumerated, as the ears, fingers, toes, etc.

§ *Baba Mezia*, 96, *Kiduschin*, 23, b.

|| *Pesachim*, 88, 6. The principle in the Roman law is almost literally the same: Quodcumque per servum acquiritur id domino acquiritur. *Gaii Instit.* 1, 52.

Considered as a person, the slave was himself responsible for his own acts. Hence if he injured other persons, the master was not legally bound to make reparation; but the slave was held legally responsible to make amends, which might be done, for example, after he had obtained his freedom.*

In relation to third persons, the slave, in the criminal jurisprudence, was put on the same basis with the free Israelite. The intentional murder of a slave was punished by the execution of the murderer, and unintentional, by banishment to one of the cities of refuge; and so, on the other hand, a murder committed by a slave was visited with the same penalties.† The wounding, smiting, and even the insulting of a slave by a third party, subjected him to the same punishment as in the case of the free Israelite.‡

§ 18.

e. Religious and Civil Condition of Slaves.

The law expressly enjoined upon the master, to allow his non-Hebrew slaves to participate in the three most important sacred observances of the people of Israel.

1. In the covenant rite of circumcision. Slaves born in the house were to be circumcised on the eighth day after their birth; and those that were purchased, when they entered into the service of a Hebrew master. § Gen. xvii, 10-14. Exodus, xii, 44.

* Mishna, *Baba Kama*, viii, 4: comp. Mishna, *Jedaim*, iv, 7, and Maimonides "On Theft," i, 9.

† Maimonides "On Murder," ii, 10-14.

‡ Mishna *Baba Kama*, viii, 3. *Maccoth*, fol. 9, a: comp. Maimonides, *Hilch. Chobel umasik*, 4, 10. It was otherwise among the Romans, who did not allow that all affronts to a freeman were equally such in the case of a slave. Foreign slaves might even be insulted and struck without penalty; comp. Gaius, iii, 222: Si quis servo convicium fecerit, vel pugno eum percusserit, non proponitur ulla formula; nec temere petenti datur.

§ Saalschütz, *Mos. Recht*, p. 704, disputes the position, that the circumcision of slaves was enjoined as a general rule, and maintains that it was only a special duty, imposed upon Abraham, and was not binding under the Mosaic law. Opposed to this interpretation is the phrase, "every man in your generation," in

2. In the observance of the Sabbath. Neither male nor female slaves could do work on the Sabbath any more than the master, but they were to enjoy the rest of that day. Exod. xx, 10; xxiii, 12. Deut. v, 14.

3. In the sacrifice of the passover, and in the celebration of the other sacrificial festivals. Exod. xii, 44. Deut. xii, 12, 18; xvi, 11, 14.

By participation in these three sacred observances, the slave was drawn away from heathenism, and considered in some degree as having a part in the faith.* But he could not be regarded as a complete participant in the religious and national covenant,† for in that case he ceased to be a real slave. And besides, the *freest self-determination* was demanded of a stranger entering into this covenant, which could not be presupposed in the case of a slave.

The Mosaic law does not expressly enjoin any other religious duties upon the slave. The Rabbins, however, suppose that he must also conform to those religious prescriptions, which were binding upon females as much as upon men.‡ For, as the slave was to renounce idolatry and all idolatrous usages, the performance of such duties was a means of meeting his religious necessities. But that the Rabbins did not countenance any thing like coercion of conscience is evident from their declaration, that a purchased slave could not be forced to submit even to the circumcision enjoined by the law. In

Gen. xvii, 12; and in verse 13, this is said to be "an everlasting covenant in your flesh." Nor is it surprising, that the Mosaic law speaks only incidentally of the circumcision of slaves (Exod. xii, 44), since it presupposes the continuance of the obligation imposed upon Abraham and his posterity "for all times;" and even the circumcision of Israelites is only incidentally enforced in the Mosaic code, in Levit. xii, 3. According to the Rabbins, baptism must also be administered to the slave at his circumcision. The purchased female slave must also be baptized at the beginning of her service, and thus she was brought into the same religious relations with the man-servant. Comp. *Jebamoth*, 46, Maimonides, *Issure biah*, xiii, 11.

* *Baba Kama*, 88; *Sanhedrin*, 86; comp. Maimonides "On Murder," ii, 11.

† *Baba Kama*, 88; *Sanhedrin*, 58, b.

‡ *Chagiga*, 41. *Nasir*, 611. *Kerithoth*, 7.

case of his refusal, the master was to forbear with him for a year, and try to bring him to a better mood by mild persuasions. If his efforts were unsuccessful, he must sell him again to a heathen. If the slave, however, entered into service on the condition that circumcision was to be omitted, the master might retain him for ever uncircumcised.* A slave once delivered from heathendom by circumcision could not be sold again to a heathen nor into foreign lands, because he might in that case be easily enticed back into heathenism. If the master thus sold him, he could under certain circumstances be forced to buy him back again; but then he could no longer hold him in his service, but must let him go free.†

The testimony of a slave before a judicial tribunal was invalid. This was doubtless in consequence of the unfavorable opinion generally entertained about the morality of slaves.‡ The Rabbins, however, regard this exclusion as only a consequence of the position in the Mosaic and Talmudic laws, that the female sex could not testify in court; for slaves ought not to be put higher than females, who were included in the national and sacred covenant.§

Neither the male nor female slave could contract a religious and civil marriage.|| If the master allowed the man-servant to live with a female slave, this had not the character of marriage either in a legal or in a religious sense. The master might therefore allow the same female to live with another slave.¶ The better class of masters, however, never did this, but committed her solely to the slave to whom she had been at first assigned.**

Children born of the disreputable connexion of a freeman with a female slave were considered as slaves, and belonged to the owner of the mother; but, on the other hand, children born from the connexion of a man-servant with a free woman

* *Jebamoth*, 48, b.

† *Gittin*, 43, b. Maimonides, *Abadim*, viii., 1.

‡ *Aboth*, ii, 7. *Kethuboth*, 11. *Pesachim*, 91.

§ *Baba Kama*, 88: comp. Maimonides, "On Testimony," ix. 4.

|| *Jebamoth*, 45, a. *Kiduschin*, 68.

¶ Maimonides, *Issure biyah*, xiv, 19.

** Comp. *Nidda*, 44.

were considered as ignoble, but yet as free born, for the child in such cases always followed the condition of the mother.*

The seduction of a maiden† betrothed to another man, and not yet redeemed, was punished, according to the Mosaic law, with scourging, but not with death, as was the case with a betrothed free maiden. The seducer must also atone for his sin by bringing a trespass offering: Leviticus xix, 20-22.

f. Domestic Condition of the Slaves.

§ 19.

1. *The Occupations of the Slaves.*

The occupations of the slaves varied with their strength and capacities, and with the necessities of their owners. The men-servants were for the most part employed in field work and the care of the flocks and herds, the two chief occupations of the nation. In the house, they did the drudgery,‡ waited on the master at table, dressed and undressed him, washed and anointed him. When the master went to the bath, a slave usually followed him, bearing his garments. The slaves ordinarily began their service with some such personal attendance on the masters.§ They seem to have been less employed in handicraft, as such work was held by the Hebrews in high honor, and chiefly done by freemen. However, the Rabbins speak of slaves employed by their masters in industrial pursuits and handicraft—as overseers of the public baths, barbers, bakers, and the like.§

Apt and trustworthy slaves not only sometimes had the oversight of slaves, and were stewards of the house (Genes.

* Maimonides, *Abad.* ix, 1-3; *Issure biah*, xv, 3, 4. The principle of the Roman law was similar: Qui nascitur sine legitimo matrimonio, matrem sequitur: comp. Gaius, 1, 82.

† On the different interpretations of this enactment, see the Talmud, *Kerith*, 11, a.

‡ Comp. *Kiduschin*, 22, 6.

§ Comp. *Mechiltha* on Exodus xxi, 2, and *Sephra* on Levit. xxv, 39; here it is said, that the Hebrew men-servants must not be employed in such labors, which belonged to the proper slaves.

xv, 2; xxiv, 2. 2 Sam. ix, 10), but seem also to have had the charge of the sons of the house (Proverbs, xvii, 2).

The female slaves, who were under the special control of the wife, performed the same services for her that the men-servants did for the master. Besides this, they attended to the work of the house appropriate to females, such as baking, cooking, grinding, washing, spinning.* They were likewise employed as nurses, and to take care of the children.† The severest labor imposed upon them was the grinding of the grain in hand-mills (Job xxxi, 10. Isaiah, xlvii, 2; comp. Exodus xi, 5. Ecclesiast. xii, 3). The humblest position was that of the female slaves who had to serve the men-servants (1 Sam. xxv, 41), and who were assigned to cohabit with them. Outside of the house the female servants seem to have been employed only in the harvest to bind up the sheaves (comp. Ruth, ii, 8, 9, 23).

§ 20.

2. *Treatment of the Slaves.*

The provision of the law, that men-servants and maid-servants should have a day of rest in every week, in which they were to be free from all hard labor, would of itself insure them against excessive exertions. That law, too, which demands that even the strength of beasts be spared, and forbids plowing with a span of animals of unequal strength (the ox and the ass, Deut. xxii), contains an implicit demand that there should be still greater consideration in the case of the labor of slaves. But, above all things else, the ever living memory of the hard toil of the Hebrews in their Egyptian bondage, from which the divine compassion delivered them, taking vengeance on their oppressors, and the injunctions to spare and pity all strangers and helpless ones, contained in God's law, and frequently recalled in connection with these tribulations, must have had a most important influence upon their own treatment of those they held in bondage. We may then assume

* Compare Mishna, *Kethuboth*, v, 5.

† Mishna, *Kethuboth*, v, 5.

with certainty, that the lot of slaves among the Hebrews was in general much more endurable and favorable than is any other people of ancient times. Some expressions made use of in the Proverbs of Solomon (xxix, 19, 21), and in Sirach (xxxiii, 25-29), warning against a too tender treatment particularly of the younger slaves, favor the supposition, that there was often bitter experience of the consequences of too great mildness and indulgence. Disobedient and slothful slaves were indeed sometimes punished by flogging or scourging, and were even put in fetters (Sirach xxxiii, 29) in cases of unusual obstinacy; but the strict laws above adduced against killing or grievously injuring a slave, would naturally restrain the hand of a hard master from the infliction of cruel punishments. There is no trace among the Hebrews of those inhuman punishments, often inflicted by the Romans for slight transgressions.*

This mild treatment which the slaves generally experienced also explains the fact, that no instance can be found among the Hebrews of an insurrection of slaves, though this was of frequent occurrence among the Greeks and Romans. Even the case of a slave running away from his master seems to have been very infrequent; at least, there is only a single instance of the kind mentioned in the Bible,† that of two slaves of the wrathful Shimei (1 Kings, ii, 39).

While the general treatment of the slaves was thus mild and humane, the nobler masters were here preëminent. Job, in attestation of his righteous walk, could say, that he did not despise the cause of his man-servant, or of his maid-servant, and that he had never forgotten that the slave had the same human worth with himself (Job, xxxi, 13-15). The rich Boaz, a man of high station, comes to a group of his laboring servants with a truly paternal friendliness, and greets them with the words, "The Lord be with you" (Ruth, ii, 4). The Talmud reports several times of men in high station in later periods, that they gave their slaves of every dish which they themselves enjoyed,

* Comp. Becker's *Gallus*, i, 129 sq.

† In the Talmud period some such cases are noted; in *Gittin*, 45.

and had them served with food before they themselves sat down to meat;* that they spoke the same words of consolation at the death of a true servant as at the death of a near relation; that they addressed their aged servants in honor as "Father N." and "Mother N."† A Rabbi of note even wished to introduce it as a general custom, at the burial of a virtuous slave, to sing in public the customary elegy—"Alas! the good, the true man, useful was his life!"‡

In their treatment, too, of foreign slaves, the duties and claims of humanity were generally regarded. To vilify a servant before his master was reckoned a sin worthy of a curse, which God would not leave unpunished (Proverbs, xxx, 10). He who was mild and merciful to others must be just as conscientious in this respect to his slave.§ As it was the duty of every one to ransom a freeman who was a prisoner, the same duty held in respect to a captive slave.||

Faithful servants not unfrequently received their freedom as a reward of their fidelity, especially upon the death of the master; and they also usually had a portion of the inheritance (Prov. xvii, 2). In ancient days, in case there were no male heirs, in order to keep the property together, the highest of the slaves, or the steward, was sometimes adopted in the place of a child, and made the general heir (Gen. xv, 3), or married to the master's daughter (1 Chron. ii, 34). The last case, too, probably sometimes occurred, when the daughters of the family could not obtain in marriage any free-born men; at least, a Jerusalem proverb in relation to it runs thus: "Is thy daughter fit for a man, release thy slave, and give him to her as a husband."¶ Female slaves, on the other hand, were set at full liberty, only when some one chose them to wife; as in other cases their freedom might be no benefit, only leaving them wholly defenseless. So that when a female servant was to be rewarded for her faithfulness, it was often thought more fitting only to raise her above her lower condition and give her light labors in the household.**

* *Kethub* 61, and Jerusalem Talmud, *Baba Kama*, 6.

† *Berachoth*, 16, b.

‡ *Berachoth*, 16, b.

§ Comp. *Gittin*, xii, a.

|| Comp. *Gittin*, 37, b.

¶ *Pesachim*, 113, a.

** *Gittin*, 40, a.

§ 21.

g. The Manumission of the Slaves.

Besides the case of serious injuries inflicted upon the slave by the master (Exodus, xxi, 26, 27), the Mosaic law has no ordinance about the manumission of slaves from foreign nations. But it is plain, from Leviticus xix, 20, that it supposes they can be released in other instances. These cases, and the form of manumission, are determined by the Rabbins in the following manner :

1. *Freedom by paying Ransom.* Since the slave, as such, could not hold property, release by purchase was practicable only when a third person paid to the master the value of the slave, in order to give him his freedom. He became free just as soon as the master accepted the offered sum, without need of any written document.*

2. *By a Deed of Manumission,* when the master in the presence of witnesses gave it to the slave directly, or had it given by a third person, witnesses subscribing thereto. The form of words for such a deed might be various : e. g. "Thou art a free man ;" or, "Henceforth thou belongest to thyself;" or any words of the like import, by which the master clearly renounced his claim to the slave, retaining no right over him.†

3. *By Testament ;* as when the master in his last will declared the slave to be free, or enjoined his release upon his heirs.‡

4. In fine, the *implied Manumission.*§ As soon as the master gave it to be understood in any way, that he no longer regarded the slave as a slave, as e. g. by making him heir of his whole property ;|| or by giving him a free-

* Maimonides, *Abad.* v. 2.

† Maimonides, *Abad.* v. 3 ; vii, 1. Some full formulas of deeds of manumission from later times are contained in *Kinsath hagdola*, on *Jore dea*, cap. 267.

‡ Maimonides, *loc. cit.* vi, 4, and *Sechija umathana*, ix, 11.

§ Like the Roman *manumissio per mensam* ; as the two preceding modes correspond with the Roman *manumissio per epistolam*, and, *per testamentum*.

|| Mishna, *Peah*, iii, 8.

born woman to wife ; or by having him take part in a religious act with ten free Hebrews ; or by letting him perform any act which only a free Hebrew could perform.* In all these cases the slave at once obtained his freedom ; but in order to give it full validity, a deed of manumission was also required, which the master could be forced to execute.†

The master among the Hebrews had no remaining rights, as patron, over the released slaves, as had the Romans and Greeks ; still less could he bring them back into slavery, if he repented of their manumission.‡ After freedom had been obtained, the slave in open day before three Hebrews must receive the baptism which Judaism enjoined at the reception of proselytes,§ and he was then looked upon as having in all respects a full part in the national and religious covenant of the people of Israel.||

§ 22.

Influence of the Mosaic Legislation upon the Condition of Slaves in the Neighboring Nations.

The example of the mild treatment of slaves among the Hebrews would of itself have an ennobling influence upon the condition of slavery in the neighboring nations ; and as a matter of fact, we find that their lot among these people was not as sad, as it was in the midst of Greek and Roman civilization. But one of the Mosaic laws, given for the benefit of slaves held in foreign nations, must have been of special efficacy in this direction. According to Deuteronomy xxiii, 16, 17, a slave that had run away from his master, and taken refuge in the land of Israel, could not under any circumstances be given up, nor yet be held in bondage. And what was more than this, he could freely elect his place of abode, wherever he pleased, and had claim to all the civil rights, which the law granted to strangers that were free born. If the slaves

* *Gittin*, fol. 39, 40.

† *Maimonides, Abad.* viii. 17.

‡ *Maimonides, Issure biah*, xii, 17.

† *Maimonides, Abad.* viii. 17.

§ *Jebamoth*, fol. 47 ; *Issure biah*, xiii, 12.

of neighboring people could in this way safely escape from harsh treatment, and even from bondage, their masters would naturally be solicitous to attach them to themselves by mildness and kindness, so that they might not be tempted to seek their freedom and their human rights in a land, where these blessings were ensured by a holy law.

ART. II.—POWELL ON THE EVIDENCES.

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On the Study of the Evidences of Christianity. By BADEN POWELL, M.A., in "*Essays and Reviews*," pp. 106-163.

THE volume of "Essays and Reviews" has produced in England an unusual sensation; not because of its originality, for it consists chiefly of a re-hash of exploded German nology; nor because of any marked ability in reasoning or beauty of style by which it is characterized, for its argument is generally feeble, and it is strikingly verbose and circuitous in expression; but simply because of the reckless audacity of its writers. It has attained a "bad eminence." All its writers may not indeed be equally chargeable with antichristian tendencies, but, under the circumstances, each is in a large degree responsible for the faults of all the others. We do not propose to enter into strictures upon the whole volume,—as that has already been done in our last number,—but to confine our animadversions to the particular Essay we have specified above. Our object is to present such a discussion of the Evidences of Christianity, and of the present state of the argument, as is prompted by this Essay of Mr. Baden Powell.

In stating this occasion of our present writing, we do not mean that we had not before meditated earnestly on the points of difficulty involved in this discussion, nor that we had not al-

ready noticed with pain a growing tendency of thought in the direction taken by Mr. Powell and his compeers; but we had not expected to see that tendency carried boldly out to its ultimate skeptical and infidel results—we use these words in no spirit of denunciation, but calmly, considerately, sorrowfully—by men professing to be Christians, and retaining their position and emoluments in the Christian Church. It is true the tendency referred to, the tendency to disparage the use of the External Evidences of Religion, has had some show of excuse as a natural protest and healthy reâction against the too prevalent opposite tendency to an exaggerated estimate of their value, and an abusive application of them as a theme of early and popular instruction. The External Evidences cannot be safely made to exclude or supersede all other Evidences. “Treatises on the External Evidences simplified for the use of children” are among the surest means of educating a generation of skeptics and infidels. In the protest against such extravagances we heartily sympathize. But when this protest is carried so far as altogether to deny the truth and validity of the External Evidences of Religion,—and that professedly in the interest of religion itself,—we are startled, we demur, we resist, we feel compelled to throw ourselves into the gap, in defence of divine Revelation and its proffered credentials.

We know that it has often been objected to writers on the Evidences,—and the objection has been repeated and urged by Mr. Powell, that they handle the subject as professed advocates, and not as judges; with the adroitness, tact, and craft of the special pleader, and not with the impartiality of feeling and openness of mind which characterize the genuine seeker after truth. That these writers have performed the part of advocates rather than judges, in this sense, viz., that they have sought arguments and evidence to establish an assumed conclusion, instead of speculating as to what conclusion should be drawn from given premises,—may be freely admitted. They are not investigating; they are proving. But if for this they are to be condemned as untrustworthy, Euclid must be brought under the same condemnation; for this is precisely the process pursued by him; his conclusions were given; his

business was to seek media of proof; he first proposes his theorem, and then gives its demonstration. That these writers have been advocates in another sense, in which Euclid probably was not,—that they have stood forth as defenders and apologists, that they have reasoned against an opponent and aimed to repel an assailant,—is also true. But this certainly does not invalidate their arguments, nor even of itself discredit them. They may have been zealous, for their cause was weighty. But this does not prove that they have been intemperate in their zeal, or that they have been unfair, or disingenuous, or trickish in their argument. It is true that such is too often the case with advocates; and hence the odiousness of this charge. Surely it is not fair to indulge thus sweepingly in an invidious allegation, without specifying and establishing a single instance of perversion, or concealment, or exaggeration, to support it. Mr. Powell has not specified and established such an instance. And even if not only one such instance, but many such instances, had been established, but little would have been accomplished against the argument of these writers; unless it had been also fairly and openly shown, and not merely covertly insinuated, that these instances were of such a nature as to vitiate and invalidate their whole course of reasoning.

Meantime Mr. Baden Powell and his associates have little claim to assume the air and authority of impartial judges in this controversy. They are really and thoroughly partisans. They plausibly present themselves as mediators only because they are more cool and adroit, less violent, intemperate and reckless, than the extreme men on the same side. That they assail and impugn, or, at least, would undermine, what has generally been designated as Christianity, as revealed religion, must be manifest to any intelligent reader. And that they should then quietly assume the credit of impartial judges, and coolly set down their Christian opponents as "advocates and special-pleaders," may be regarded not only as itself one of the highest strokes of the art of special-pleading, but as a most remarkable trait of downright effrontery. There are some cases when a good man can hardly help being an advocate,—

when fundamental truth, when the principles of morality, when his God or his country's rights are attacked. Is a man's argument to be discredited unless he is perfectly indifferent whether there be or be not any distinction between truth and falsehood, or between right and wrong, perfectly indifferent whether there be or be not a God, whether his country's cause is just or unjust? At least it must be admitted to be as creditable to a man's head and heart, and to detract as little from the weight of his argument, to be an advocate for the just, the good, the true, for that which is holy, Christian, divine, as to be their open or secret assailant. When the really impartial and adequately intelligent judge of such a controversy can be found, let him ascend his tribunal, hold aloft his scales, and pronounce his sentence. But for our part we cannot conceive that God himself,—if there be a God with moral attributes,—that even He who is the infinite fountain and omniscient judge of all truth, should regard the opposite sides of such questions with perfect indifference. And if God should reveal his judgment in such a case to the human mind, together with an intelligible reason for it, would that judgment and that reason be justly subject to the disparagement of one-sided advocacy and disingenuous special-pleading?

Many writers of late years, who have, for some reason or other, retained a fancy for the name of Christian, while thrusting Christianity under the fifth rib, have been accustomed to complain of the bigoted denunciations of those who stigmatize the assailants of the received Christianity as infidels. Mr. Powell, from a very natural sympathy and presentiment, renews this complaint. He especially reproves the writers on the Evidences for their denunciatory spirit. We think the charge is unfounded. Meantime, with the delightful self-complacency that characterizes his school, he talks largely of "the more enlightened notions of the better informed class," of "highly cultivated minds and duly advanced intellects,"—quietly consigning the advocates and defenders of the Evidences of Christianity to the class of the uninstructed vulgar, of well-meaning but weak and bigoted zealots. Mr. Powell and his associates might as well consider that if one who at-

tacks Christianity does not like to be called an infidel, those who defend it may not like to be called fools. Under certain circumstances, it may be as great a breach of charity and good breeding to say "thou fool," as to say "thou infidel."

It is quite amusing to see how certain men appropriate to themselves all science, knowledge, and intelligence, all breadth and depth of view, all impartiality and love of truth. According to Mr. Powell no man who believes with all his soul, and earnestly sets forth and urges the reasons of his belief, can possibly be a lover of the truth; he only is a lover of the truth who rejects it, who doubts and denies and disparages, who professes always to seek the truth, but refuses ever to see or recognize or embrace or defend it.

Mr. Powell renews the stale attempt to bring discredit on the Holy Scriptures, as a positive, external, divine revelation, by alleging discrepancies between their declarations and the discoveries of modern science. He professes indeed to save Christianity by declaring that, "as a real religion, it must be viewed apart from connection with physical things." He then proceeds to say :

"The first dissociation of the spiritual from the physical was rendered necessary by the palpable contradictions disclosed by astronomical discovery with the letter of Scripture. Another still wider and more material step has been affected by the discoveries of geology. More recently, the antiquity of the human race and the development of species, and the rejection of the idea of "Creation," have caused new advances in the same direction." "In all these cases there is a direct discrepancy between what had been taken for revealed truth and certain undeniable existing monuments to the contrary."

To establish these points he perverts the authority of Owen and Faraday, relies on Lamarck and the "Vestiges," and canonizes Darwin.

Now we boldly challenge any man to show a discrepancy between the Scriptures and astronomy or any ascertained facts in geology or any other science. It is passing strange, after all that has been said and written, that an intelligent man should coolly repeat these oft-refuted charges as if they were incontrovertible and admitted facts. Shall we ascribe it

to ignorance or prejudice, or narrow-mindedness, or bigotry? or does it proceed from a pure love of the truth? The Scriptures do not profess to teach science or deal in scientific formulas. They state and describe phenomena in the received idioms of the language of the times, in the common speech of common men; and thus they state and describe them truthfully. And if the point is made of the discrepancy between science and the "letter of Scripture," we answer that, if, for example, there is a discrepancy between the science of astronomy and the "letter of Scripture," there is also a discrepancy between the science of astronomy and the *letter of astronomy* itself; for the astronomer still talks of the sun's rising and setting, and declining towards one and the other side of the equator. As to Lamarck and the "Vestiges," the admitted discrepancies between them and the almost unanimous opinions of "the first physiologists of the day," are quite as great as any discrepancies between them and the dicta of the Holy Scriptures. The premature apotheosis of Darwin is perfectly characteristic of this school of writers. They seem to have a natural affinity for any theory that apparently contradicts the Scriptures, and to believe it for this very reason, accepting this fact instead of all other tests and evidences of its truth. But whatever may be the course or result of future investigations,—and at all events, Mr. Powell has no right to anticipate and assume any particular result before it is ascertained,—so much is clear, the crude, disjointed, narrow-based, extravagant speculations and suggestions of Darwin are not yet to be reasoned from as the established discoveries of modern science, before which the Holy Scriptures must stand corrected.

We cannot refrain from remarking the marvellous self-delusion—it may not be called hypocrisy—of Mr. Powell, in claiming not only to be acting the part of an impartial arbiter in this controversy, but to be writing throughout in no controversial but in a purely contemplative and theoretic spirit. He even intimates that he accepts Christianity *ex animo*, and only objects to certain untenable *evidences*. And in this connexion he falls into what is to our understanding the

most egregious confusion. He talks of "grounds of belief" other than evidence, to be understood without any exercise of intellect, and judged of by some other faculty than rational judgment;—of *proofs* addressed to the internal sense, in distinction from evidence addressed to the understanding or reason; of *discussion* conducted without evidence or argument or appeal to the intellect, but solely upon the ground of "spiritual impression and religious feeling;" while yet he declares that the belief which rests on such grounds may be fairly charged with being "dictated by other considerations than the love of truth." The upshot of all which seems to us to be about this; Christianity may be believed for anything Mr. Powell has to say to the contrary, provided it be admitted that there is no intelligible evidence for it, no rational ground whatever for believing it. But what kind of belief that is which rests on no evidence, and involves no intelligent act, it surpasses our metaphysics to comprehend. And we are curious to know what sort of Christianity that is, what those dogmas and doctrines are, which are thus believed without evidence. *Without evidence*, we say, because it cannot consistently be contended that they are *self-evident*, the apprehension of self-evidence itself being an act of the reason, an intelligent act. Do Mr. Powell and his school mean, by Christianity, certain moral precepts and spiritual truths accepted because they agree with *their* moral sense and spiritual impressions? To believe that "Thou shalt not steal," and "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," are good precepts, and that men are sinful, needing forgiveness and spiritual renovation, not because these things are taught on external divine authority but simply because they commend themselves to *their* moral sense and spiritual impressions,—is this what they call believing Christianity? But, let us ask, do they believe that Jesus of Nazareth was the Christ—the Son of the living God? If they do not believe this, can they be Christians? If they do believe this, can they deny the possibility of miracles? Do they believe in the Christianity of St. John, who testifies of what he had seen and heard and handled of the word of life, and declares that whosoever confesseth not that Jesus Christ is

come in the flesh is anti-Christ? How can they believe in such Christianity, and yet insist upon an entire severance of the spiritual from the external and physical? Do they believe in the Christianity of St. Paul who asserts that Jesus Christ was made of the seed of David according to the flesh, but declared to be the Son of God with power according to the Spirit of holiness? Mr. Powell is constrained to admit that St. Paul reasons, but denies that he reasons *logically*; which in fact is as much as saying that he does not reason at all; for it cannot be meant merely to say that he does not reason in logical or syllogistic form; nobody of common sense reasons in that form for ordinary purposes; Mr. Powell himself does not. He must mean either that St. Paul assumes false premises or reasons inconclusively,—which is really no reasoning at all, but only a semblance of it. He seems to assume, however, that St. Paul's reasoning might be valid and conclusive as addressed to one party, to the Jews, for example; and inconclusive and nugatory for another party,—for our enlightened and philosophical age.

This brings us to one of the leading points in the effort to disparage the Evidences of Christianity. It consists in sophistically urging the essentially *subjective* character of any *evidential* argument. The evidence, it is said, must depend for its force upon the state of mind of the party addressed.

"The scope and character of the various discussions raised on 'the evidences of religion' have varied much in different ages; following, of course, both the view adopted of Revelation itself, the nature of the objections which for the time seemed most prominent, or most necessary to be combated, and stamped with the peculiar intellectual character and reasoning tone of the age to which they belonged."

"All moral evidences must essentially have respect to the parties to be convinced. 'Signs' might be adapted peculiarly to the state of moral or intellectual progress of one age, or one class of persons, and not be suited to that of others. . . . And it is to the entire difference in the ideas, prepossessions, modes, and grounds of belief in those times, that we may trace the reason why miracles, which would be incredible *now*, were not so in the age and under the circumstances in which they are stated to have occurred."*

* The caution of this expression is remarkable,—“in which *they are stated to have occurred.*”

"The force and function of all moral evidence is nullified and destroyed, if we seek to apply that *kind* of argument which does not find a response in the previous views or impressions of the individual addressed. All evidential reasoning is essentially an adaptation to the conditions of mind and thought of the parties addressed, or it fails of its object. An evidential appeal, which in a long-past age was convincing as made to the state of knowledge of that age, might have not only no effect, but even an injurious tendency, if urged in the present, and referring to what is at variance with existing scientific conceptions; just as the arguments of the present age would have been unintelligible to a former."

Thus we are referred to the different style in which the "Evidences" have been treated by the early Christian apologists, by the Mediæval Church, by Romanists, by early and later Protestantism; and, in later times, to the diversity of the form and tone of argumentation in Jackson and Stillingfleet, in Clarke and Grotius, in Leslie, Lardner, and Paley. We are told of the Irving miracles as parallel with the Christian, and yet so difficult of credence in these modern times; of the Persians, to whose credulity miracles were so cheap that they proved nothing; of the Jewish Rabbis, who easily admitted the miracles of Christ, but ascribed them to magic; of the Tractarians, who hold that it is the essence of Christian faith to be without any evidence at all; and of Coleridge, who expressed his strong impatience at the too great and constant stress which seemed to him to be laid upon the external evidences.

All this and much more of the same sort is alleged with the apparent design of invalidating the argument from the Christian evidences. But is this its fair logical effect? Will it not prove too much? Has there been at different periods any greater diversity of views and treatment in relation to the subject of the "evidences," than in relation to moral and philosophical subjects generally? And has all moral and philosophical truth, therefore, only a subjective validity? Are we to infer that there is no real, objective distinction between truth and falsehood? That all truth is a mere temporary, transient seeming? That what is true to-day may be false to-morrow? That what was true at the Christian era has grown false since? That what was a good, sound logical proof then, is no proof at all now? If truth is constituted and determined by the opinion

and judgment of each individual, how can Mr. Powell charge anybody whatever with *error*? What does he mean by his vaunted "love of the truth"? What is a man seeking when he seeks the truth? Why should a man change his opinion? To what intent does Mr. Powell conduct an argument? Does he mean that, in an argument, a man need not consider the truth of what he alleges, but only its availability with the party addressed? So it seems. We confess ourselves shocked at such looseness of moral principle. We no longer wonder that men with such notions should take latitudinarian views of the obligations involved in subscription to the Articles of the Church of England.

There are really two questions in the case, by confounding and commingling which Mr. Powell has juggled himself, and attempted to juggle his readers, into what seems to us grave and dangerous error. The first question is, "Were the alleged Christian miracles actually wrought, and were they really miracles?" If they were not, no honest man can justify their having been used—at least with a knowledge of their falsehood—as proofs and evidences; however available they might be for that purpose in the primitive times. *If they were actually wrought*, the second question is, "Are they then valid proofs of Christianity?" If the alleged miracles are admitted as such, we hesitate not to say that they are valid evidence, and will be valid evidence to the end of time, Mohammedans and Jewish Rabbis to the contrary notwithstanding. In confirmation of this assertion we appeal to common sense, to the universal unsophisticated judgment of mankind. We might appeal to Mr. Powell himself, to say whether, provided the truth of the miracles is honestly and fully admitted, they are not valid evidence? *On that admission*, is there any thing in "the scientific conceptions" or "advancement of intellect" of the present day to detract from that validity? If the alleged miracles were not true miracles, then they were never a good argument; if they were true, they are always a good argument. There is undoubtedly a subjective side to an evidential argument; and a wise man will not leave it out of account in his reasoning. Among true arguments he will select for use those which will

have most weight with the party addressed; but if he is an honest man, he will never employ those which are false, however effective they might be. And in regard to the evidence from the Christian miracles, we freely admit that men may be so imbruted in savage degradation, or so prejudiced by superstition, or so materialized by exclusive converse with the natural sciences and the laws of physical causation, or so spiritualized by transcendental speculation, that this evidence may have little force upon their minds. And though this is their fault and not the fault of the evidence, though in denying the force of the evidence they judge wrong and "greatly err," still it would of course be of comparatively little use to urge such evidence with them in an argument. We say, *they err*; it may be thought presumption in us to say so; but we do not know that it is any more presumption in us to say that they err, than in them to say that the apostles and early Christians erred in *their* judgment. One or the other party must be adjudged in error, unless we adopt Mr. Powell's subjective theory in its grossest form, and hold that two contradictory judgments may both be true. But after all, it is clear Mr. Powell does not really hold this view, for he manifestly thinks that the judgment which is in accordance with the "scientific conceptions" and "advanced intellect" of these modern times is *right* and *true*, rather than the judgment of earlier and less enlightened ages. He clearly implies that the apostles and primitive Christians were in error, so far as they believed in miracles. Their judgment after all did not make the argument from miracles good. It convinced them, only because they knew no better. But we have changed all that, by the help of modern illumination and German metaphysics.

The grand *assumption* which underlies this whole argument against the evidences of Christianity is, *the absolute inconceivableness and impossibility of miracles*. This is the discovery of modern science which requires the argument from those evidences to be abandoned or remodelled. Following the lead of some of the physical philosophers, and of Strauss, Baur, and others among the German theologians, Mr. Powell adopts this assumption. It is implied as the real substratum of difficulty

throughout his whole discussion. It is often betrayed. It is occasionally quite distinctly avowed. When the defender of the credibility of miracles appeals to the *ignorance* of the dogmatic objector, he replies :

"Such are the arguments of those who have failed to grasp the positive scientific idea of the power of the inductive philosophy, or the *order of nature*. The boundaries of nature exist only where our present knowledge places them : the discoveries of to-morrow will alter and enlarge them. The inevitable progress of research must, within a longer or shorter period, unravel all that seems most marvellous ; and what is at present least understood will become as familiarly known to the science of the future, as those points which a few centuries ago were involved in equal obscurity, but are now thoroughly understood."

Surely the belief in the omnipotence and ultimate omniscience of science was never more confidently announced. But he proceeds :

"The enlarged critical and inductive study of the natural world cannot but tend powerfully to evince the inconceivableness of imagined interruptions of natural order or supposed suspensions of the laws of matter, and of that vast series of dependent causation which constitutes the legitimate field for the investigation of science, whose constancy is the sole warrant for its generalizations, while it forms the substantial basis for the grand conclusions of natural theology."*

"In an age of physical research like the present, all highly cultivated minds and duly advanced intellects have imbibed, more or less, the lessons of the inductive philosophy, and have, at least in some measure, learned to appreciate the grand foundation conception of universal law ; to recognize the impossibility even of *any two material atoms* subsisting together without a determinate relation ; of any action of the one on the other, whether of equilibrium or of motion, without reference to a physical cause ; of any modification whatsoever in the existing condition of material agents, unless through the invariable operation of a series of eternally impressed consequences, following in some necessary chain of orderly connexion, however imperfectly known to us. So clear and indisputable, indeed, has this great

* It is curious to observe that Mr. Powell, for the sake of decrying the evidences of Christianity, is here for the moment willing even to admit the weight of the argument for Natural Theology. Yet he elsewhere adopts Darwin's theory of Species, and predicts that it will produce an entire revolution in the scientific world. But Darwin's theory, excluding the idea of definite *design* from all the works of nature, annuls the whole argument of Natural Theology at a stroke, and one can hardly suppose that Mr. Powell could fail to be aware of that fact.

truth become, so deeply seated has it been now admitted to be in the essential nature of sensible things and of the external world, that not only do all philosophical inquirers adopt it as a primary principle and guiding maxim in all their researches, but, what is most worthy of remark, minds of a less comprehensive capacity, accustomed to reason on topics of another character, and on more contracted views, have at the present day been constrained to evince some concession to this grand principle even when seeming to oppose it."

"The case, indeed, of the *antecedent* argument of miracles is very clear, however little some are inclined to perceive it. In nature and from nature, by science and by reason, we neither have nor can possibly have any evidence of a *Deity working miracles*: for that, we must go out of nature and beyond reason."

"To conclude: an alleged miracle can only be regarded in one of two ways,—either (1) abstractedly as a physical event, and therefore to be investigated by reason and physical evidence, and referred to physical causes, possibly to *known* causes; but, at all events, to some higher cause or law, if at present unknown: it then ceases to be supernatural, yet still might be appealed to in support of religious truth, especially as referring to the state of knowledge and apprehensions of the parties addressed in past ages.* Or (2) as connected with religious doctrine, regarded in a sacred light, asserted on the authority of inspiration. In this case, it ceases to be capable of investigation by reason, or to own its dominion. It is accepted on religious grounds, and can appeal only to the principle and influence of faith."

Hume's famous proposition, that "the improbability of a miracle is greater than the improbability of the falsehood of any amount of human testimony," has been abundantly refuted, (1) by a direct appeal to the common sense and judgment of mankind; (2) by exposing its two logical vices, in assuming, in the first place, that a miracle is contrary to *all* experience—which was the very point in question—and, in the second place, that because some testimony is false, *all* testimony may be false, which is contrary to fact; and (3) by Babbage's demonstration based on the strict mathematical doctrine of probabilities. Mr. Powell adopts Hume's proposition; but he goes beyond it without seeming to be himself aware of the fact. He maintains the absolute impossibility of

* Surely the blessed apostles would have indignantly repudiated such an ethical sentiment as that. See Rom. 3: 5-8. "If the truth of God hath more abounded through my lie unto his glory; ——— whose damnation is just."

miracles, and does not know the difference between that and their improbability. He confounds contingent with necessary truth. To show the absurdity of the dictum of the Scottish School, "that on a certain amount of testimony, we might believe any statement however improbable," he exclaims, "so that, if a number of respectable witnesses were to concur in asseverating that, on a certain occasion, they had seen two and two make five, we should be bound to believe them!" An essential inconceivability, an absolute impossibility, which must rest on self-evidence if it has any evidence to rest upon, he naïvely traces to the gradually strengthened impression of accumulated experience. That the alleged impossibility of miracles is not a self-evident truth, seems clear from the fact that miracles have been believed by so many reasonable men—men of no mean note too even in physical philosophy—as Bacon and Newton for example, who may be supposed to belong to the class of "highly-cultivated minds and duly advanced intellects." And as to the impossibility which he alleges of our having any *evidence* for miracles, his argumentation is in Hume's best skeptical vein, and would equally prove that we can have no evidence of matter or mind, of material or spiritual substance, or of God, or of any cause whatever: for these are no more given (to the senses or to the consciousness) in experience, than is a miracle.

In perfect consistency with his main assumption, Mr. Powell treats the idea of "creation" as exploded, scouts at any appeal to the "Divine Omnipotence," and rejects as absurd, i. e. as rationally inconceivable and impossible, any Revelation, in the received sense of that word; and of course, its *received* sense is its *proper* sense.

Such are the legitimate results which this style of philosophizing, whether in science or theology, must ultimately reach, or to which it must finally be driven. And as to the alternative, in viewing an alleged miracle, which he allows us in the last paragraph cited above; it amounts to this: we may (1) either regard the miracle as false, and yet urge the falsehood in proof of religion; or (2) we may believe what we, at the same time, know to be inconceivable and impossible, on the

authority of inspiration; i. e. on no evidence at all, for inspiration, in its proper sense, in the sense in which, as an honest man, he must have used the word here, is a miracle, and therefore, is inconceivable and impossible; and he himself has very pertinently asked the question before, which we beg leave to repeat, "How is the inspiration to be ascertained apart from the miracles?" He would have us, therefore, as reasonable men, believe, on evidence which our reason teaches us we cannot possibly have, in that which our reason teaches us cannot possibly be true! And this, he would persuade us, is the true character and office of Christian faith, in its highest and purest form!

He treats with contempt Paley's position, "once believe in a God, and all is easy;" and then goes on to quote the "theistic" reasonings against the possibility of miracles of such "devout believers" as Mr. Emerson, Prof. F. W. Newman, Wegscheider and Theodore Parker! It is true he professes to dissent from their arguments and principles, and declares that "all such theistic reasonings are but one-sided, and, if pushed farther, must lead to a denial of all active operation of the Deity whatever as inconsistent with unchangeable, infinite perfection." We are unable to see how his own reasonings can fail to lead to the same denial. Indeed the dogma of the impossibility or incredibility of miracles is essentially pantheistic: it rests upon pantheistic premises, and is combined on all sides with pantheistic or atheistic associations. If man be a free moral agent, and the acts of his will are not involved in and determined by the "eternally impressed laws of the concatenation of physical causes," and if there be a living, personal God, with a will and a character, acting through all things for moral ends; then is there no more absurdity or incredibility in the course of nature being controlled, directed, modified in extraordinary ways, by the immediate divine agency, than by human interference; and to affirm the contrary is to presume that we are intimately cognizant of all the possible moral plans and purposes of the eternal and infinite mind. No wonder that, from Mr. Powell's point of view, while patronizingly approving of Dean Trench's statement

that "we continually behold lower laws held in restraint by higher—mechanic by dynamic, chemical by vital, physical by moral," he should have added, "the meaning of 'moral laws controlling physical' is not clear." So, indeed, it must have seemed to him; and yet there lies concealed a pregnant truth, the germ for a confutation of Mr. Powell's whole argument.

In brief, the argument from the external evidences of Christianity stands thus: (1) The existence of a personal God, with moral attributes, is assumed, and hence the *possibility* of miracles is inferred; (2) The antecedent credibility and probability of a revelation, from such a Creator to such creatures as men, is established, and hence the *general probability* of miracles under such circumstances is inferred; * (3) Certain extraordinary *facts* are proved by testimony, facts of such a nature that they must be *miraculous*, and hence the alleged revelation, which has these miracles for its attestation, is concluded to be from God.

* Mr. Powell objects that miracles are as necessary, and would therefore be as probable, now in preaching the Gospel among the heathen, as they were in connection with its first promulgation. "When were miracles more needed," he asks, "than at the present day to indicate truth amid manifold error, or to propagate the faith?" We answer, that, when abundant light has been given, errorists, even heretics and infidels, must bear their own trial and their own judgment; and that judgment is not likely to be worse than if they should add to all their other sins the sin against the Holy Ghost. And as for the heathen, we have no doubt that, without miracles, the Church has an abundance of external means, as well as an assurance of a sufficiency of spiritual power and of Divine aid and grace, for the speedy conversion of the pagan nations, if she would but bestir herself with half the zeal and energy of the apostolic age. It is but about fifty years since Protestant Christendom began fairly to wake up to a sense of the Church's Missionary duty. And yet, if we may trust the statistics we have seen, it would appear that, while in the first fifty years of the preaching of Christianity, not more, probably, than 500,000 were converted, in the last fifty years there have been nearly three times that number converted from heathendom by Christian missions. We will not vouch for the precision of these figures, but we know that vastly more than this might have been accomplished by the Church without calling for the aid of miracles. May we not fairly say that, instead of the external guarantee of present miracles, the Church has now, for external vouchers and recommendations of the truth she proclaims, the purity of morals, the high civilization, the magnificent results of culture, science and art, which characterize and distinguish the Christian nations of modern times? Whence, then, the need of miraculous powers?

In developing this argument, the first clause of the third division has been made the principal battle-field; and the second clause—"that the alleged facts must, from their very nature, have been miraculous, if true"—has, for the most part, been overlooked. It has been overlooked, because it was thought that if the truth of the facts were established, their miraculous character would be admitted of course.

We still think this view is correct. We still think that, whatever may be said of the absurdity or of the antecedent improbability of miracles, nevertheless, *provided* the sensible facts, the phenomena, which have been commonly regarded as the miracles of the New Testament, *are fully admitted* to be free from imposture and collusion, honestly stated, and sufficiently attested *as facts*, every fair and unprejudiced mind will find itself compelled to accept them as *miraculous*. Take, for example, the raising of the widow's son near Nain, the raising of Lazarus, and the resurrection of Christ himself, together with his repeated predictions of that event; set aside all idea of imposture or collusion, remember that such wonderful works were not *tentative*, were connected with *no failures*; admit that the history is trustworthy, that the sensible facts actually took place as there stated; and no suggestion of swoon or catalepsy or apparent death or anything else of the sort, can be admitted for a moment as furnishing any satisfactory explanation of any one of these cases taken by itself, still less of them all taken together, and least of all when these are taken in connection with all the other facts of a similar extraordinary kind, and with the whole story of Christ and of the Christian religion. Indeed these naturalistic interpretations have long since been abandoned on all sides, as utterly untenable. Mr. Powell himself hesitatingly suggests the necessity of some kind of *mythic* explanation. But this is clearly shifting back the question, and denying the truth of the history, of the sensible facts as such. And thus, after all, the truth of the *facts* is the pith of the argument.

The main object of Butler, Paley, Whately, and others, in their writings on this subject, was *to establish the truth of the alleged facts*, notwithstanding any antecedent improbability

supposed to arise from their extraordinary or inexplicable character. The truth of the facts *as such* being established, they were willing to leave the question whether they were *miraculous* or not to take care of itself. But Mr. Powell, assuming that their object was to prove, not that the alleged facts were *true*, but that they were *miraculous*, makes himself very merry over their suicidal reasoning in the way of illustration and analogies, over "the far-famed Historic Doubts," and "those delightful parodies on Scripture, the Chronicles of Ecnarf,"—charging them with reasoning from analogy for what is contrary to analogy,—he says "contrary to *all* analogy"; but that is simply a begging of the question. This point he elaborates and pursues through several pages with great apparent satisfaction, but he is only laughing at his own blunder without knowing it. He only shows that the cases of non-miraculous events which the defenders of miracles have cited as parallel (in point of extraordinariness) with miracles, are, nevertheless, no miracles at all! Sage discovery! They were not proving that the alleged facts were miracles, but that, however extraordinary and inexplicable, they were not incredible, *as facts*. Afterwards, undoubtedly, the most natural explanation to be given of the facts, on the simple hypothesis of the existence and agency of a personal God, is, that they were miraculous. Just as we say, that, although we might admit that all the varied and harmonious arrangements of the universe, presenting but one among the infinity of possible combinations and being equally possible with any one of the others, might conceivably be the result of chance, yet the infinitely more probable solution, to any rational mind, is, that this system is the work of intelligent design. A miracle is related, in point of extraordinariness, to the whole sphere of nature, as any other extraordinary event is related to its own special sphere of natural laws.

It has been the fashion of late to decry Paley's argument as obsolescent, especially in the school to which Mr. Powell belongs. But we find nothing alleged in this essay of his, which would require any considerable modification or enlargement of that argument; nothing except the mere dogmatic

assertion of the impossibility, the absolute incredibility, of miracles. This is the only point which these modern objectors, if honest, should pretend to urge. If this point is established, we freely admit that, not only the external evidences of Christianity, but Christianity itself is gone, of course. On the other hand, if this point is not made good, not only Christianity but its evidences remain intact.

The question lies, then, in a narrow compass. Let the discussion be honestly and fairly confined to its proper sphere. If the impossibility of miracles can be proved, let the proof be presented. Neither Mr. Powell nor any of his school, in all their long and labored refutations of the Christian Evidences, have presented the slightest semblance of such proof. If the alleged impossibility is self-evident, no proof is needed, all argument is a *hors-d'œuvre* ; let the point be stated, then let it rest ; it is to be presumed that the common sense of mankind will speedily recognize it, and it will be an easy task, then, for any man to follow out its consequences. But Mr. Powell and his friends quietly assume it, take for granted the very point in question, that point upon which the whole debate hinges and turns ; and then march on from conquest to conquest, erasing every vestige of Christian evidence and demolishing the whole system of revealed religion *de fond en comble*. They gain easy victories ; and wreath their brows with cheap laurels. It requires no extraordinary prowess or remarkable military skill to overrun and conquer a whole country, in imagination ; provided only it be assumed beforehand that all its fortresses and forces, its armies and navies, and all its means of defense whatsoever, have been once for all utterly destroyed and annihilated.

We have only to add, that it is one thing to urge other evidences of Christianity as stronger and more satisfactory than that from miracles ; it is another thing to reject all miracles as incredible and absurd. He who takes the former course may show an eminently Christian spirit, and, for ourselves, we cordially sympathize with his position ; but he who takes the latter course, if not an infidel himself, is certainly playing into the hands of infidels and atheists.

ART. III.—THE SPECIFIC UNITY AND COMMON ORIGIN OF THE HUMAN RACE.

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IN a previous article of this REVIEW (see Vol. II. pp. 618-633) we have considered, I. The means by which the varieties of the human race may have been produced. II. The means by which the race may have been distributed over the earth; and III., the objection to the hypothesis of a multiple origin. We now proceed to show,

IV. That the arguments in favor of the specific unity and common origin of the human race are numerous, cumulative, and irrefragable.

(1.) Man is a cosmopolite, living almost indifferently in all parts of the earth; passing with comparative immunity over lines of latitude and longitude; and sometimes improved in condition by removing from one country to another; nor is there the slightest evidence, historical or otherwise, of the favorite dogma of Agassiz, "that each of the coincident floral and faunal circles has its own species man."

Man has the power of adaptation to varieties of external condition, climatic and social, so as to be to a great extent independent of them, or at least, so as to avail himself of their subserviency and support. The anthropoid races are not adapted to distribution over the surface of the earth. They can not be acclimated, and perish very soon, even in temperate climates.

(2.) Another physical characteristic of man, of no little significance, is his erect attitude. He is the upright animal, the looker upwards, "*ἀνθρώπος παρὰ τὸ ἄνω ἀθρεῖν*," according to Plato. The same fact is noticed by the Latin poet:

"Pronaque cum spectent animalia cætera terram
Os homini sublime dedit, cælumque tueri
Jusait,—et erectos ad sidera tollere vultus."

Man is the sole representative of a distinct order of mammalia, *bimana*. Intermediate links between the *bimana* and the *quadrumana* are lacking altogether. Sir Charles Bell says that we ought to define the hand as belonging exclusively to man. The hands of the chimpanzee hang to the level of the knees, and of the orang even to the ankles. They have no proper feet, and are rightly named by Cuvier and other zoologists, *quadrumanuals*. Professor Owen, and other naturalists have pointed out the wide difference between man and the anthropoid races. The average facial angle of the European is 80° , of the negro 70° , while that of the orang and chimpanzee is only 30° to 35° . According to the testimony of Dr. Goode, the orang and the pongo have fewer vertebræ than man, and a peculiarity of the larynx, rendering them more incapable of articulate sounds than most other animals. According to Plato, in his Protagoras, man was not entirely superior to the beasts until he had learned to articulate sounds and words, and had received the gifts of modesty and justice from Hermes the agent of Jupiter. The human voice only is adapted to articulation. The brute cannot divide its voice as man does, whence the ancient Homeric epithet of "*voice-dividing man*." Whether therefore we take attitude, countenance, or voice, the ending of the brute idea is absolute—the beginning of the human entirely new.

(3.) The differences between men and races, though great, are incidental and variable, dependent upon condition, relations and culture. Hero-worship is the expression of the multitude of their estimate of the world's great minds. Of Newton, a celebrated French mathematician is reported to have said: "Does he eat and drink and sleep like other people? I represent him to myself as a celestial genius, entirely disengaged from matter." Whether we adopt the classification of five races, as Blumenbach, or of seven as Prichard, we fail to discover any sharply defined or well established principle of division. The extremes are widely separated and strongly marked, but the intervening space is occupied by every variety of form and color, and intellectual character and æsthetic culture; and the process of transition is so grad-

nal, and the lines of distinction between the different degrees so delicately drawn, that we are unable to distinguish them. The summit and the shaft of the great column of humanity are supported by a common base.

In Africa we find endless variations and gradational blendings between the widest extremes; of color, from that of the European to the polished ebony; of physiognomy, from the elegant Grecian outline to the exaggerated monstrosity of the Guinea coast negro; and of hair, from the grade of the soft Asiatic, and even auburn of some Egyptians, to the crisp curls of the Nubian, and the woolly head growth of the Fellahs. The American Indians, admitted by all to have sprung from one stock, exhibit every shade of color, from the almost black Charruas of the Rio De la Plata, to the fair Mandans of the Upper Mississippi, represented by Catlin as being almost white. From these intermediate gradations of the tint of the skin, the form of the skull, and from the analogies derived from history of varieties in animals, Baron Humboldt, in the *Cosmos*, vol. ii. p. 351, argues in favor of the specific unity of the human race, and "repels the cheerless assumption of superior and inferior races of men." Prichard in the *Natural History of Man*, p. 473, says: "All the diversities which exist are *variable*, and pass into each other by insensible gradations, and there is moreover scarcely any instance in which the actual transition cannot be proved to have taken place."

(4.) The unity of the human race may be argued from the correspondence between the several varieties, as to the average duration of life, the maximum longevity, the rate of mortality, the period of puberty, the duration of pregnancy, the epoch of the first menstruation, the frequency of its periodical recurrence, and the epoch of life to which it extends. Man, considered physically and physiologically, is every where the same. His organic structure, his muscular and nervous system, his respiration, his arterial and venous circulation, his functional activity, the number and offices of the senses, and the diseases common to the several varieties, sporadic, endemic and epidemic, prove that they are members of one species;

for though the exemption from local diseases acquired by acclimation becomes constitutional and hereditary, the apparent exception serves to confirm and establish the rule.

The most important physiological test of unity or diversity in the animal as well as in the vegetable kingdom is that furnished by the generative process. While variation among the same species increases the powers of reproduction, hybrid races are incapable of self-perpetuation.

"As to transmutation of species, Geology has shown that it has never taken place, and physiology demonstrates that species are permanent and can not be transmuted." The application of this law settles at once and forever the question as to the unity of the race. All the varieties mingle freely together, and the mixed race is often superior to the original varieties, constituting in many countries a new variety, and the dormant political and social power proving that the several varieties of the human family are forms of one species, not of different species; since in the latter case their hybrid descendants would remain unfruitful.

Professor Müller, of Berlin, says: "From a physiological point of view we may speak of *varieties* of men, no longer of races. Man is a species created once, and divided into none of its varieties by specific distinctions." Professor Draper, of New-York, says: "I do not therefore contemplate the human race as consisting of distinct species, but rather as offering numberless representations of the different forms which an *ideal type* can be made to assume, under exposure to different conditions."

(5.) The languages of the world indicate a unity not only of blood and form, but of thought, civilization and religion. They are the records of art, science, literature, government, and sacred traditions of primeval thought, crystallized forms of ancient mind and speech, whose feature and form tell of their former connection and common origin. This is more especially true of the most ancient languages, by which we are enabled to trace the connection of all the families of the earth, as brethren not only by descent, but by inheritance;

as the depository of heaven-descended truth, fragments of which are preserved across the track of centuries, and amid the wreck of ten thousand storms.

Herder, Schlegel, Humboldt, Prichard, Latham, Müller, Lepsius, and the philologists of the world generally, have traced all human dialects to some parent stock; thus indicating a common language and a common origin of the race. All the more eminent philologists adhere to the original unity of language, though they are not so well agreed as to the antiquity of man, longer time being required to effect the necessary changes than is allowed by the commonly received chronology. The English, the Dutch, and the German languages were all Mæso-Gothic at the dawn of the medieval era. At the same rate of change, they may have been not far from Egyptian or Sanskrit two thousand years before Christ.

The affinities of language may be indicated, by conformity in primary words, by verbal resemblances, by grammatical constructions and modes, and by the relation of words in sentences, indicative of community of intercourse or of origin at some remote period.

In the language of a people we often find its history, its characteristic features, and even the marks of its wars and conquests. The language and the laws of the British Isles present marked evidences of the conquest by the Norman French, and of an earlier conquest by the Romans a thousand years before. The grammatical structure of the languages of savages evinces that they are the decaying fragments of nobler formations. The speech of the Bushman has been ascertained to be a degraded dialect of the Hottentot language, as that is a depravation of the Cafre tongue. The picture-writing of China affords proof of great antiquity, of a fixed character, and of the very slight influence of conquering or of commercial nations.

The uniformity of languages in Africa, is greater, according to Dr. Latham, than it is in either Asia or Europe.

The semi-barbarous populations of the North with Mongolian features, speak languages which have been grouped as Turanian, languages graduating on one side into Esquimaux

and American Indian, and on the other, according to Müller and Latham, connected with the Semitic and Japhetic tongues.

The aborigines of America have been traced by the aid of philology to N. E. Asia. The daring Ledyard, as he stood in Siberia, and compared the Mongolians with the Indians who had been his schoolmates at Dartmouth, wrote deliberately: "That universally and circumstantially, they resemble the aborigines of America." On the Connecticut and on the Obey he saw but one race. The Asiatic origin of the American tribes, and the unity of the families, have been proved by an analysis of the several dialects, discovering an affinity in not less than one hundred and seventy words; though the application of the principles of the mathematical calculus, would give millions of chances to one, against such a concurrence. "That the Tschukchi of N. E. Asia and the Esquimaux of America, are of the same origin is proved by the affinity of their languages, thus establishing a connection between the continents previous to the discovery of America by Europeans." (*Bancroft.*)

Words being arbitrary signs of thought, their prevalence in different languages is proof of affinity and community of origin or of intercourse. There is no near relationship between the American and the Turian languages, but the affinity of races is established by the Esquimaux—a transition or connecting link, Mongolian in conformation, but American in words; as when a word borrowed from the French, takes the English sign of the possessive case, a word marked by the peculiarities of two languages, and proving a mingling of the races.

The Malayan language has extended east across the Pacific, from Sumatra as the centre, one hundred and fifty degrees, west over the Indian ocean fifty degrees, more than half the circumference of the globe; and from the Sandwich Islands 23° 33' N. to New Zealand 45° south, covering seventy degrees, the two clusters of islands being nearly five thousand miles apart. (*Rev. William Ellis.*)

Baron Wilhelm von Humboldt, in his analysis of the Kawi language, a work the researches of which, says Bunsen, belong to the Calculus Sublimis of linguistic theory, and place his

name, in universal comparative ethnologic philology, by the side of that of Leibnitz, found one hundred and thirty-four words, the synonyms of which he traced through nine languages, four of which were Polynesian dialects. On this ground, says Prichard, we infer without doubt the common origin of the Polynesian Islanders, of the Greeks, of the Germans, and of the Arian race of Hindostan. Says Baron Alexander von Humboldt, "the comparative study of languages, shows us that races now separated by vast tracts of land, are allied together, and have migrated from one common primitive seat." Says Dr. Max Müller, "The evidence of language is irrefragable, and it is the only evidence worth listening to with regard to ante-historical periods. The hoary documents of language prove a common descent, and a legitimate relationship between Hindoo, Greek, and Teuton. The terms for God, horse, father, mother, son, daughter, dog, cow, heart, tears, axe, and tree, identical in nearly all the European idioms, are like watch-words of soldiers. We challenge the seeming stranger, and whether he answers with the lips of a Greek, a German, or an Indian, we recognise him as one of ourselves. The Indo-European languages furnish the following illustrative examples:

| <i>Sanskrit.</i> | <i>Zend.</i> | <i>Greek.</i> | <i>Latin.</i> | <i>Gothic.</i> | <i>Slave.</i> | <i>Erse.</i> |
|------------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|--------------|
| FATHER. | | | | | | |
| Pitâr, | Patar. | πάτηρ. | Pater. | Fader. | — | Athair. |
| MOTHER. | | | | | | |
| Mâtâr. | Mâtar. | μήτηρ. | Mater. | — | Mate. | Mathair. |
| DAUGHTER. | | | | | | |
| Dahîtar. | Dughdhar. | θυγάτηρ. | — | Daubtar. | Dupte. | Dear. |

"The affinity of words, in different languages, is known by identity of letters, and identity of signification; or by letters of the same origin, and a signification deducible from the same sense. Consonants are convertible into their cognates." (*Webster.*)

The English word *bear* represents the Latin *fero* and *pario*, and *fero* is the Greek *φέρω*. Respecting the identity of the following list of words there can be no doubt:

| <i>English.</i> | <i>Saxon.</i> | <i>Dutch.</i> | <i>German.</i> | <i>Swedish.</i> | <i>Latin.</i> | <i>Greek.</i> |
|--------------------|------------------|------------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------------|----------------|
| draw, } drag, } | dragan, | trekken, | tragen, | draga, | traho, | — |
| give, | gifan, | geeven, | geben, | gifva, | — | — |
| foot, } feet, } | fat, } fet, } | voet, | fuss. | fot, | pes, | πούς. |
| have, | habban, | hebben, | haben, | hafva, | habeo, | — |
| seek, | secan, | zoeken, | suchen, | sôkia, | sequor, | — |
| will, | willan, | willen, | wollen, | willja, | volo, } velle, } | — |
| | | | | | <i>Danish.</i> | |
| who, | hwa, | wie, | wer, | ho, | huo, | — |
| bean, | bean, | boon, | bohne, | böna, | bönne, | — |
| | <i>Gothic.</i> | <i>Sanscrit.</i> | | | <i>Latin.</i> | <i>Hebrew.</i> |
| earth, | airtha, | ahora, | erde, | jord, | terra, | aretz. |
| | | | | <i>Danish.</i> | | אֶרֶץ. |
| | | | | iord, | | |

The Hebrew word, אֶרֶץ, *bara*, to create, finds its correspondence, in the Greek *βαρα*, *φέρω*, Latin *paro*, Spanish *parar*, French *parer*, Amoric *para*, Russian *uberayu*, Persian *paridan*, and the Welsh *par*, *parad*.

Similar resemblances have been traced by philologists among a multitude of radical words, throughout the several leading languages of the world.

Lepsius shows the deeply rooted radical analogy which the ancient roots of the language of Egypt bear on one side to the Indo-Germanic family, and on the other to the Semitic.

Bunsen says that the Egyptian roots found on monuments, not more ancient than the time of Moses, and in great part anterior to him by a thousand years and more, prove an affinity, not only with the Hebrew and Sanscrit, but also with the languages of the family of Japhet, the Greeks, Romans, Indians, Persians, and the Germanic and Celtic tribes. He concludes his able report by saying, that "all the nations which from the dawn of history to our days have been leaders of civilization, in Asia, Europe, and Africa, must consequently have had one beginning. This is the chief lesson which the knowledge of the Egyptian language teaches;" a lesson in support of the hypothesis of the "original unity of mankind, and of a common origin of all the languages of the world."

(6) The progress of art, literature and science, and the varying

fortunes of nations, dependent upon culture and favoring circumstances, rather than upon any inherent difference of structure or organization, prove the existence of several *varieties* of *one* species. Few persons perhaps are aware how much the world is indebted to the decaying and almost obsolete civilization, pervading the stationary and imagined inferior races of the old world.

The dial and the clock were invented at the east, silk came from China, steel from Damascus, coffee from Arabia, sugar from India, its very name, *sachara canda*, is Sanskrit, tea from China, and leavened bread from the borders of the Ganges. The cherry, the peach and the plum came from Persia. Coffee and alcohol are Arabic words. The game of chess is from Asia. Chemistry was brought into Europe by the Mohammedans. The system of arithmetic and notation which we call Arabic, was borrowed from India. For the algebraic analysis we are indebted to the Moors. Gunpowder, the mariner's compass, and various optical instruments, were introduced by the Arabs into Europe from Asia. The globular figure of the earth, and the obliquity of the ecliptic, were known in Asia long before they were in Europe. European monotheism was a doctrine of the Hebrews, an Asiatic race. Our most refined notions of honor and right contain nothing more than is to be found in the ten commandments. The disciples' daily prayer was enunciated by the Saviour on a mountain of Syria. The elements of our civilization are from Rome, from Greece, from Syria, and from Egypt, which for thirty centuries before our era, was governed by a dynasty of kings in regular succession.

The power and the successes of Ghengis Khan, and of Tamerlane, prove that they were men of wonderful capacity, holding as they did nearly all Asia in their iron grasp. Such results imply the most extraordinary powers of intellect and of will. The great law-givers of the world are of Asia—Zoroaster, Confucius, Mohammed, Moses, Melchizedec, to say nothing of the mighty rulers of Nineveh and of Babylon. Three hundred millions of people enjoy peace and the fruits of their industry under the government of the Emperor of China; nearly as many are followers of Mohammed; while the worshippers of

Brahma and Budha are estimated by hundreds of millions. The Italian church was formed by Asiatic missionaries, and consolidated through centuries by a long line of sacerdotal kings, making the most powerful ecclesiastical establishment in the world. In its form and principles of government it is essentially Oriental. The mind of the people of Asia is eminently synthetic, prompting to the construction of immense cities, temples, aqueducts, canals, Chinese walls, and systems of theology, philosophy, and government—a definite, social state, seeking repose and forbidding change.

The European mind is analytic—proposing questions, making experiments and changes, committing the treasures of the past and the interests of the present to the uncertain issue of revolutions, and of course tending to social and political freedom. The results are various, and of unequal interest and value—doubts, protests, empiricism and change, the explosion of old systems, and the adoption of new ones, with rapid progress in the arts and practical sciences, but without stability and repose, for the perfect crystallization of sentiments and principles, into forms of order and proportion. The moral qualities of the European mind are not equal to the intellectual. The combination of the synthetic and of the analytic element, by the spirit of the cross, is an indispensable prerequisite to the introduction of the golden age of prophecy and of song.

(7.) The traditions of Central Asia, the cradle of the race, diffused among the nations of the earth, indicate the common origin of the human family. We find in the histories of civilized nations, and in the mythologies and religious ceremonies of barbarous tribes, traditions of chaos, the creation, light, the Sabbath, the garden, the trees of Paradise, the fall, the flood, the olive branch and the dove, and of Messiah; traditions uniform and striking, such as could not have been invented; household memories yet lingering among the scattered members of the human race, all pointing back, and converging to a common centre and a common home.

The traditions of separate and independent nations, says Wilhelm Von Humboldt, “concur in assigning the generations of men to the union of a single pair.” Even the alphabet from

Phenicia has been transmitted to us through the same race, that gave us the fundamental principles of our religious faith. And it is worthy of notice that picture-writing and picture-worship are closely connected. Abstraction is anti-idolatrous. The recognition of the distinction between the IDEAL and the REAL is manifested in the invention of an alphabet; as well as in the adoption of a pure theism.

(8.) The unity of the human race is established by the exact counterpart between the respective powers of the several varieties. The map of the human faculties is identical. The grammar of one language is substantially the grammar of all. Three and seven are charmed or sacred numbers; and by the influence of some curious law pervading human nature, all or nearly all nations begin to repeat in counting at ten. The remembrance of the departed and the sacredness of the tomb, are cherished sentiments even among the most savage tribes. The difference between the dangerous classes of our large cities, and the most brutalized savages is very slight. They have the same affections, the same intellectual and moral qualities, though darkened by superstition and impaired by abuse. They are governed by the same, or similar aims and feelings; the elements and the instincts of man's intellectual and moral nature, even in its depravation, are the same.

It is this *psychical* conformity in regard to the essential elements of man's nature, that constitutes the moral brotherhood of the race, in comparison with which, the question of physical relation by common descent is of little importance. In this respect there is no impassable barrier between the several tribes of men; and even Agassiz protests strongly against any inference from his hypothesis as to a multiple origin, to the prejudice of the interests and rights of men, founded upon the moral unity of the race. The consciousness of moral union is conclusive evidence of the unity of the several families of mankind. The conviction is spontaneous, irresistible, and universal, of the reciprocal relation between the several varieties, as one great commonwealth of mankind, peoples and nations, of many climes and colors, and diverse customs; component parts of one whole, as springs and wheels mutually adapted and re-

lated, awaiting the day and the hour of adjustment and consolidation.

(9.) The powers of reason and of free-will, so as to determine the course of thought and of action, are distinctive characteristics of mankind in every clime and condition. The rational and moral nature of man is everywhere the same—his intellectual and spiritual faculties and susceptibilities, his instincts and sympathies, his hopes and fears, his susceptibility to religious impressions and culture, his innate conviction of the brotherhood of the race, his spiritual aspirations and reverent looking to the great First Cause, and adumbration of a future heritage; these are the voices of God respecting the nature of man—reflections from the broad mirror of humanity of the light of heaven, records of the divine will, engraven upon, incorporated with, and pervading man's whole being.

(10.) An argument for the unity of the race, is found in the capacity for improvement to an indefinite extent, among all the varieties of mankind. The same fact is seen also in the susceptibility to degradation and barbarism, when the means of culture and the appliances of civilization are removed. The history of the rise and decline of empires is indicative of the similarity or identity of mental character of all nations throughout the several ages. Members of all the leading varieties of the human species have been found at the summit, as well as at the base of the social pyramid. The civilized ruling nations of to-day were the pagans and serfs of a few centuries ago. In the revolutions of the wheel of fortune they have changed places with their masters. From the antiquities now in process of disentanglement, it is manifest that the aborigines of America are the degenerate children of a people once civilized, refined, and powerful. The relative decline of the Asiatic nations and the advance of the European, are facts which need no illustration for their enforcement. The capacity of the mind for knowledge, and its susceptibility of culture, have no definite limits. Large attainments become the occasions and the means of new acquisitions. There is a broad and impassable line between man and the irrational creation, common to all the varieties of the race. Animals, as dogs, horses, elephants,

and monkeys, may be taught a few arts, and subjected to a routine of service, but the ultimate limit is soon reached. Their capacity for improvement is confined to a narrow range, and the members of the succeeding generation cannot be elevated to a higher grade than the former. They have neither conscience, nor speech, nor reason; their vocal utterances are natural sounds, expressive of joy or pain, as the interjections of human speech—the language of the sensations and feelings of animal nature—not arbitrary signs of thought, indicative of reflection, and high resolve, and heroic purposes. Of all the animal creation, man alone had a spiritual nature superadded, making him to be the image and likeness of his Maker.

(11.) The great weight of authorities, whether we consider numbers or character, is on the side of the specific unity and common origin of the race.

“All ancient civilization must have sprung from a common centre.”—*Burke*.

“The different races of mankind are not different species of a genus, but forms of one sole species”!—*Alexander Humboldt*.

“The human species appears to be single.”—*Cuvier*.

“We are entitled, from all the facts and observations which have been established, to draw confidently the conclusion that all human races are of one species, and one family.”—*Prichard*.

“Science has determined that all the various tribes of men are but forms of a single species.”—*Hugh Miller*.

“Deeply rooted in the innermost nature of man, and enjoined upon him by his highest tendencies, the recognition of the bond of humanity is one of the noblest leading principles in the history of mankind.”—*Wilhelm von Humboldt*.

“Each member of the race is in will, affection, and intellect, consubstantial with every other. The reciprocal relation between God and humanity constitutes the unity of the race.”—*Bancroft*.

Such, in a word, is the conclusion of our highest scientific authorities. The number of testimonies might be multiplied indefinitely, but it is not necessary.

(12.) The authority of the divine word on the subject is with the Christian decisive and final.

The Bible knows but one species of man. We do not read that they were created after their species, as we do of plants and animals. The record is unambiguous and emphatic. Amid the songs of morning stars, and the chorus of angelic choirs, "God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him, male and female created he them, and gave them dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth. And God blessed them, and said unto them, Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it, and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth."

"And the whole earth was of one language and of one speech. So the Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth, and they left off to build the city. Therefore is the name of it called Babel, because the Lord did there confound the language of all the earth, and from thence did the Lord scatter them abroad upon the face of all the earth."

"For God hath made of *one blood* all the nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed and the bounds of their habitation."

V. The recognition of the bond of humanity in the reciprocal relation of the several varieties of the race as consubstantial members of the great commonwealth of mankind, is the initial step, in every series of measures wisely conceived and rightly directed, for social progress and political regeneration.

(1.) Liberty, civilization, and religion are consequent and dependent upon the practical acknowledgment of the substantial unity of the several varieties of the human family. The mission of the scholar, the triumphs of science, and the conservative influence of civilization and of law, are destined to be commensurate with the wide extension of the race.

Wherever man exists, there may be heard a brother's voice, pleading for a brother's rights, and protesting against personal, social and political violence and wrong. Wars, oppressions,

and military conquests, which would have a *seeming reason*, if one nation might arrogate to itself a higher or more excellent origin than another, are prohibited by the fundamental organic law of human nature.

(2.) The popular infidelity of the day, superficial and flip-pant, is accustomed to assail the Bible, and to sneer at its pretensions to divine authority, on the ground of its teachings concerning the unity and origin of mankind. It flatters the self-complacency of the Anglo-Saxon to imagine that he belongs to a superior as well as to a conquering race. It seems to justify, or at least to palliate violence and wrong, to believe that there are *inferior* races, made like the brutes to be in subjection and to serve. And it obviates the necessity of self-denying missionary efforts to suppose that certain races are not improvable, that they are hopelessly degraded, and destined to remain permanently in a savage state, or to disappear before the march of the conquering races.

(3.) The specific unity and common origin of the race is a subject of practical interest and of momentous import; for it is connected inseparably with the doctrine of salvation. It is a question of vast importance whether the nature which fell in Eden is that which we inherit, and whether the humanity which we wear was embraced in the work of redemption.

The specific diversity of the races is a hypothesis at war with the comprehensive unity of Redemption, as well as with its universal applicability to the varieties of mankind. The fall precedes redemption, and redemption implies the unity of the race; for He who shed his blood for us was made subject to law in human form, that he might redeem us who were under the law, and purify us from all unrighteousness. The Gospel is adapted to all classes and conditions of men, even the most degraded and hopeless of the so-called inferior races. It knows no degrees of latitude or longitude. It has made conquests among all nations and tribes, thus illustrating its power; and it is destined to universal supremacy. It recognizes in the great commission the unity of the race; and the command is, "Go ye into all the earth and preach the Gospel to

every creature, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you ; and lo, I am with you alway, even to the end of the world."

(4.) The moral effects of the doctrine of the unity of mankind, upon the peace and welfare of nations, cannot be too highly estimated nor too dearly prized.

Who can calculate the effects of such a conviction—WE ARE ALL BRETHREN—the influence it would exert on the well-being of states and empires, extending the spirit of love and of life to all classes of men—freemen, claiming their rights and privileges in the common inheritance, as children of the universal Father—a spectacle to the world and to the angels, than which none is more sublime or pleasing to God ; a generation of the world's population taking up the confession of unity, fraternity, and equality, uttering it boldly, and proclaiming it from nation to nation, and around the globe ; inaugurating the era of a congress of nations, and giving assurance of the peace of the world.

ART. IV.—CRITICAL THOUGHTS ON NEW TESTAMENT TEXTS.

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1. Perhaps the most perplexing and most discussed passage in the New Testament is that found in Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews, chap. ix, verses 16 and 17.

In our English version the words run thus ; "*For where a testament is, there must also of necessity be the death of the testator. For a testament is of force after men are dead : otherwise it is of no strength at all while the testator liveth.*" In the Greek the passage has this form ; "Ὅπου γὰρ διαθήκη, θάνατον ἀνάγκη φέρεσθαι τοῦ διαθεμένου. Διαθήκη γὰρ ἐπὶ νεκροῖς βεβαία. ἐπεὶ μήποτε ἰσχύει ὅτε ζῇ ὁ διαθέμενος. The difficulty is not in the words as they stand in these verses by themselves, but in

their meaning as related to the context. Considered apart from the connection, the passage presents a statement just in itself, and fully supported in both vocabulary and syntax by the Greek. The statement affirms that the death of a testator is necessary before a will or testament can have an efficient force. This is sufficiently clear in itself, but it is difficult to apply the figure to Christ. A testator's death gives efficiency to his will, simply by taking him out of the way, thus allowing the benefits of property, which terminated in *him*, while he was alive, to flow on to the heirs for *their* enjoyment. The death causes a transfer of the property. Such is the *characteristic* of a testator's death as regards his testament. But there is nothing analogous to this in Christ's death. His death is a purchase of property for us, a property which by the very nature of the case he never did and never could himself enjoy. That property is our salvation.

But besides this inapplicability of the figure to Christ, it is inapplicable to the preceding and succeeding verses. The preceding verses treat of Christ as the sacrifice for sin, thus; "if the blood of bulls and goats ——— sanctifieth, etc., how much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God, purge your conscience?" (ver. 13, 14). The 15th verse speaks again of his death as a means of redemption, whereby the promise of an eternal inheritance may be received by the called. This use of the word "inheritance" is the only thing which agrees with the idea of a testament and a testator. For the word twice translated "testament" in the 15th verse cannot refer to a testament, because a *mediator* of the testament is mentioned, and how can there be a mediator to a man's last will? And, again, the *Mosaic dispensation* is called "the first testament," in which there is acknowledged to be no likeness whatever to a will. The Greek word *διαθήκη* (the word used in these passages) means both "covenant" and "testament." It occurs in the New Testament thirty-three times, and is translated in our version by "testament" thirteen times and by "covenant" twenty times. It occurs seventeen times in this Epistle to the Hebrews, and is translated of these six times as

"testament" and eleven times as "covenants." Moreover, the phrase "mediator of a covenant" is found in chap. viii, 6, and in chap. xii, 24, where its correctness is evident; and the Mosaic dispensation is called a "covenant" most properly in chap. viii, 9. Hence we see conclusively that the word twice translated "testament" in verse 15 of the chapter before us should be rendered "covenant" in both cases.

A covenant, made good by the sacrifice of Christ, is therefore the leading thought in the context immediately preceding our passage.

The succeeding verses (18-22) show, that the *blood of sacrifices* had to be used in all the Mosaic service. And then verse 23 points us to Christ's blood, as used in the same manner in our spiritual service. As the argument proceeds, this blood of Christ is again mentioned as the basis of a covenant (chap. x, 16-19). *A covenant, made good by the sacrifice of Christ*, is therefore the leading thought in the context immediately succeeding our passage. Now, are we to suppose that two short verses, comprising our passage (and using the same important word with the context), are thrust in between two parts of a regular discussion of Christ's sacrifice, with a meaning totally different? The contexts refer, as we have seen, to *a covenant made good by the sacrifice of Christ*, but this passage inserted is alleged to refer to *a testament, put into force by the demies of Christ*.

The manifold interpreters of this disputed passage may be classed under three heads. First are those who take the English version as it is, and say, that the apostle intended to mingle the two notions of covenant and testament, and that he turns on the word "inheritance" (in ver. 15.) from the former to the latter. The reply to these commentators is that such a transference of meaning is *unnecessary* and *harsh*, and hence the interpretation is contrary to the received rules of exegesis. It is unnecessary, because by preserving the notions of covenant and sacrifice, we can make a meaning equally good upon the whole with theirs. It is harsh, because the beautiful argument regarding the sacrifice is abruptly suspended, and then as abruptly resumed.

The second and larger class of interpreters, especially the later ones, acknowledge the translation of *διαθήκη* in all this chapter to be "covenant," and then read the disputed passage thus; "*for where a covenant is, there must also of necessity be the death of the victim; for a covenant is of force over dead victims; otherwise it is of no strength at all while the victim liveth.*" This reads smoothly enough in English and satisfies the context. But there are several objections to this use of the Greek. Only one however seems really unanswerable. It is this. The word translated "victim" never has that meaning, and by all analogy cannot have it. It occurs in the New Testament five times (besides this passage), and is uniformly referred to the *maker* of the covenant. In the classical writers it occurs in the same invariable sense, as the maker of the covenant or will. Scholefield acknowledges this difficulty, and yet boldly calls it here an *ἄπαξ λεγόμενον*, and rides over it. Yet no one can read his four pages upon this matter, without perceiving that he feels very uneasy in his bold riding.

The third class of interpreters, like the first, take the English version as correct, but would have *διαθήκη* rendered "testament" everywhere. This class show such a blind disregard for propriety in rhetoric that we shall consider it enough to mention them.

If the second interpretation could avoid the difficulty with the word *διαθέμενος*, which its advocates translate "victim" or "mediating sacrifice," it would probably be received by all good critics. We propose to remove that difficulty by a translation which preserves to *διαθέμενος* its well-acknowledged meaning, while the general signification of the passage remains in accordance with the second interpretation. We repeat the Greek and under it our suggested rendering.

Ὅπου γὰρ διαθήκη, θάνατον ἀνάγκη φέρεσθαι τοῦ διαθεμένου. Διαθήκη γὰρ ἐπὶ νεκροῖς βεβαία, ἐπεὶ μήποτε λῶχει ὅτε ζῇ ὁ διαθέμενος. *For where there is a covenant, it is necessary for a death to be brought by the covenant-maker; for a covenant is firm over dead victims, since never has the covenant-maker power while the victims live.* In the former clause, τοῦ διαθεμένου is regarded as equivalent to ἀπὸ τοῦ διαθεμένου, the omission being

familiar to every scholar. The only harshness is in giving, in the latter clauses, *ισχύει* a nominative (*ὁ διαθέμενος*), which seems naturally to belong to *ζῇ*. This can be explained by supposing the writer to have finished his sentence before he wrote the last word, (*ὁ διαθέμενος*), having the covenant-maker in his mind as the nominative to *ισχύει*, from the necessity of the argument, thus: "the covenant-maker must introduce a death, since the covenant-maker has no power without a death." But feeling that the interposed sentence (*διαθήκη γὰρ ἐπὶ νεκροῖς βεβαία*) might prevent the reader from supposing the right nominative to *ισχύει*, he adds *ὁ διαθέμενος* at the end of the whole, the *ζῇ* naturally being associated with the *νεκροῖς*.

2. *There remaineth therefore a rest for the people of God, for he that is entered into his rest, he also hath ceased from his own works as God did from his.* Heb. iv, 9, 10.

"*Ἄρα ἀπολείπεται σαββατισμὸς τῷ λαῷ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ γὰρ εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὴν κατάνανσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς κατέπαυσεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων ὁ θεός.*" The trouble in this passage is to account for the "for" (*γὰρ*). We should have expected "and" (*καὶ*), as it only introduces an *additional fact* and not a *reason*. There remains a rest for God's people—that is one fact. Moreover, this rest is like God's rest—that is another fact. A careful translation will bring out the force of the "for," and correct our English *non sequitur*. The writer has just shown that the rest promised by God (through David) to his people could not be the rest which Joshua found for Israel in Canaan. This rest which God promises, the writer constantly calls *κατάνανσιν*. The conclusion in the 9th verse would thus naturally be "there remaineth, therefore, a *κατάνανσις* to the people of God." Instead of that the Apostle writes "there remaineth, therefore, a *σαββατισμὸς* to the people of God." The objection would promptly arise—why a *σαββατισμὸς* and not a *κατάνανσις*? The answer is in the 10th verse "*for* he that is entered into his *κατάνανσις* hath ceased from his own works, as God did from his." The 10th verse is thus a *reason* for using *σαββατισμὸς* in the 9th verse. The English might, therefore, read thus: "*There remaineth, therefore, a Sabbath-rest to the people of God, for he that is entered into his rest hath likewise rested*"

from his own works as God did from his," and thus his rest is a Sabbath-rest. By our received text the meaning of the 10th verse is entirely lost, the word "Sabbath-rest" (σαββατισμὸς), on which its whole meaning hinges, being unseen.

3. *And from the days of John the Baptist until now, the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force.* Matt. xi. 12. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ βαπτιστῆς ἕως ἄρτι ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν βιάζεται, καὶ βιασταὶ ἁρπάξουσιν αὐτήν. The usual interpretation of this passage regards the "violent" and the "violence" as referring to the earnest seekers for the truth and their earnestness. People rush with impetuosity into the refuge of Christ's Church, with such impetuosity as characterizes the storming of a city by zealous troops. But Schoettgen and some others prefer to take the text in a more literal signification, and read it thus: "The kingdom of heaven is violently attacked by its enemies, and those who wish to get the admission to it must fight their way in." But why is not Schoettgen consistent, and having referred βιάζεται to the violent attacks of the enemies of the Church, why does he not refer βιασταὶ to the same? His double reference seems to be exceedingly arbitrary. Another class of interpreters, who hold to the common interpretation of βιάζεται, imitate Schoettgen's inconsistency by making βιασταὶ refer to the meaner portion of the people, whom the Pharisees regarded as usurpers and invaders in embracing the Gospel! Whatever be our rendering of the Greek, it certainly seems evident that βιάζεται and βιασταὶ must receive a similar treatment with each other. And why should not that rendering have reference to the enemies of the Church? The spirit of the context is a complaint against unbelief. With all John's excellence, the Jews rejected him; and when Christ came, they basely assaulted him. So Jesus and John are compared to children sitting in the markets and saying to their fellows, "We have piped unto you and ye have not danced; we have mourned unto you and ye have not lamented;" and then the evangelist adds, "for John came neither eating nor drinking, and they say he hath a devil. The Son of Man came eating and drinking, and they say, 'Behold a man gluttonous and a wine-bibber.'"

Keeping this contextual force in view, the most natural paraphrase of the text would be this: "John was very great, but the kingdom of heaven has greater glory than even John's preaching (ver. 11); yet great as is the kingdom of heaven, it is basely assaulted and its assailants plunder it." The English phrase "take it by force" is not the only rendering for ἀρπάζουσιν αὐτήν. We prefer "plunder it." In this way Demosthenes frequently uses the word ἀρπάζειν; as for example, τὴν δὲ Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν ἐφεξῆς οὕτωςι Φίλιππος ἀρπάζων οὐ λύπει; The Church was never *taken* by its enemies, but has often been *plundered*.

The corresponding passage in Luke xvi, 16, reads thus in our English Bible: "Since that time the kingdom of God is preached, and every man presseth into it." The Greek of the latter clause, which is all that concerns our question, is, πᾶς εἰς αὐτὴν βιάζεται. Here is βιάζεται again. Instead of "every man presseth into it," we propose "every man (i. e. a multitude) assaults it." To support this reading of βιάζεται with εἰς, we quote *Demosthenes de Halonneso, chap. 7, κατακάυσας τὴν χώραν καὶ εἰς τὰς πόλεις βιασάμενος*, "having laid waste the country with fire, and having assaulted the cities."

ART. V.—RENAN ON JOB AND CANTICLES.

LE LIVRE DE JOB, *traduit de l'Hébreu, avec une étude sur l'âge et le caractère du poëme.* Par ERNEST RENAN. Deuxième édition. Paris. 1860.

LE CANTIQUE DES CANTIQUES, *traduit de l'Hébreu, avec une étude sur le plan, l'âge et le caractère du poëme.* Par ERNEST RENAN. Paris. 1860. 8vo, pp. xiv, 210.

THE author of these treatises is not quite forty years of age, but he ranks already as one of the ablest and most eloquent of French scholars. Having given early indications of great talent, he was educated for the church, and entered upon the

study of theology in a Roman Catholic seminary at Paris. But his free spirit and active curiosity could not endure the trammels of a traditional faith; he quitted the seminary, cut loose from ecclesiastical associations, and, earning his bread by private instruction, devoted himself to study. He pursued with great assiduity the oriental languages, and in 1847 gained the Volney prize by an essay which was the basis of an extended work published in 1855, under the title, *Histoire générale et système comparé des langues sémitiques*. In 1850 he received an appointment as attaché of the manuscript department of the national library—a position, which leaves him free to follow his scholarly tastes. He is a prolific writer; and has contributed a number of articles to the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, *Le Journal de l'Instruction Publique*, etc., which are all marked by boldness of thought and eloquence of style. Within the last three years, he has begun to write on the Hebrew Scriptures, and the two works mentioned at the head of this article are the product of his activity in this direction.

The work on Job consists of two parts: a translation of the text, and an essay on the literary history and character of the book. The translation is carefully made and displays Renan's skill in the use of words, but it appeals chiefly to the French public; the essay may invite the attention of all who are interested in the study of the Old Testament. Renan's position and influence entitle his opinions to notice, if not to criticism.

In regard to the date of the book of Job, Renan agrees with the great majority of living scholars, who have receded from the opinion of Le Clerc and others, that it was not written until the captivity. Renan is inclined to assign it to the eighth century, the age of the prophets Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah.

"It is at this period, midway in the history of the kingdoms of Judah and Israel—a period when the ancient nomadic spirit was far from being extinct, and when the important reforms of the time of Josiah had not yet given that powerful impulse to the nation, which predestined it to so extraordinary a career, that I prefer to place the composition of the book of Job."

Several parts of the book of Job have been held by some critics to be not the work of the original author, but added by a later hand. In discussing the genuineness of these portions,

Renan is comparatively conservative. He confesses freely that upon the first perusal many circumstances seem to favor the idea of interpolation; but he remarks, that the Hebrews and oriental authors in general held ideas respecting composition very different from our own. Their conceptions of logical consecutiveness, of dramatic unity, and even of rhythmical effect, were much less definite than those of the Greeks and Romans, and we must be careful not to see interpolations or retouches, wherever the want of connection surprises us. Thus he does not consider as additional the prologue and epilogue, without which the poem would be unintelligible.

The reasons for denying the authenticity of the second part of chap. xxvii seem to him even less decisive. The opinion also of Ewald, who looks upon the descriptions of Behemoth and Leviathan as interpolated, rests upon no better foundation. The style of this fragment appears to M. Renan to be that of the finest portions of the poem. In no part do we find greater strength or more sonorous parallelism; every thing indicates that this singular portion is from the same hand (though wrought from different materials) as the rest of Jehovah's discourse.

It is only, according to M. Renan, against the discourse of Elihu that decisive and insuperable objections may be raised. It disturbs the arrangement of the poem; its language differs from that of the remainder of the work; and considerations of taste also condemn this fragment. For these reasons M. Renan admits that the discourse of Elihu was interpolated at a later age than that in which the book of Job had assumed the form in which we find it. But it is impossible to say whether this insertion immediately followed the completion of the poem, or whether a long interval separated the two. Who knows, asks M. Renan, if the author himself, taking up his work after a long interval, at an epoch when he had lost his inspiration and his style, did not think that he might perfect his poem by the addition of this fragment, which in reality injures it?

Concerning the spirit and character of the book, we shall leave M. Renan to speak for himself.

"Not for a moment," he says, "in this strange book, do we cease to feel vibrating those fine and delicate touches, which make the grand poetical creations of Greece and Judah so perfect an imitation of nature. Entire phases of the human soul are indeed wanting, and a sort of grand inflexibility gives to the poem an aspect of hardness and brazen terror; but the position of man in this world, his mysterious struggle against an opposing but unseen power, his equally justified alternations of submission and revolt, have never inspired so eloquent a lament. The greatness of human nature consists in a contradiction, by which all wise men have been impressed, and which is the prolific mother of all high thought and noble philosophy; on one side, conscience endorsing right and moral obligation as the highest realities; on the other, the experience of every day inexplicably belying these profound aspirations; whence has risen a sublime lamentation, which, beginning at the creation of the world, will till the end of time bear toward heaven the solemn protest of man's moral nature. The poem of Job is the most sublime expression of this cry of the soul. In it blasphemy encroaches upon adoration, or rather it is itself a hymn of praise, since it is but an appeal to God against the voids which conscience finds in the work of God. The pride of the nomad, his cold, severe religion, far removed from any thing like devotion, his haughty self-assertion, alone explain this singular combination of lofty faith and audacious stubbornness."

After having proved the absence in Hebrew writing of the method, or scientific exactitude, which we find in the literature of Greece, M. Renan justifies the fact in these terms:

"If the point in question were a problem accessible to the human mind, it would be shocking to find the rules of scientific investigation so grossly violated. But the question which the author proposes to himself is precisely that with which every thinker struggles without being able to solve it; his perplexities, his solicitude, this manner of turning over in all directions the fatal name without finding its import, involve much more philosophy than the positive scholasticism, which pretends to silence the doubts of reason by responses apparently indisputable. Contradiction in such matters is the sign of truth, for the little which is revealed to man of the plan of the universe is reduced to a few curves and a few veins, of which the fundamental law is but vaguely seen, and which aspires to attach itself to the greatness of infinity. To maintain at one and the same time the eternal necessities of the heart, the affirmations of the moral sense, the protestations of conscience and the testimony of fact, this is wisdom. The predominant thought of the book of Job is thus one of perfect truth. It is the grandest lesson ever given to intemperate dogmatism; and to the pretensions of the shallow mind meddling with theology; it is in one sense the highest result of all philosophy, for it declares that man can only veil his face before the infinite problem which the government of the world presents to his contemplation."

The book of Job is the expression of the incurable trouble, which engrossed the conscience at the epoch when the old patriarchal theory, founded only on the promises of a terrestrial life, became insufficient. The author sees the feebleness of this theory; he revolts with good reason against the crying injustice which a superficial interpretation of the decrees of Providence brings with it; but he finds no outlet in the closed circle from which man can escape only by a daring appeal to the future.

"Three thousand years have passed over the problem agitated by the wise men of Idumea, and in spite of the progress of philosophic method it cannot be said that it has made one step toward a solution. Looked at with reference to the rewards and punishments of the individual, this world will be an object of eternal dispute, and God will always forcibly give the lie to the clumsy apologists who seek to defend Providence on this desperate ground. The scandal which the Psalmist experienced in *beholding the peace of the wicked*, and the wrath of God against the prosperity of the ungodly, are sentiments which have been justified throughout all time. But that which neither the Psalmist nor the author of the book of Job could comprehend, that which a succession of schools, the intermixture of races, a prolonged education of the moral sense could alone reveal, we have learned. Beyond the chimerical justice which the superficial good sense of all ages has sought to find in the government of the universe, we perceive far higher laws and a more exalted purpose, without the knowledge of which human affairs must seem but a tissue of iniquities. The future of the individual man has become no clearer, and perhaps it is well that an eternal veil should cover truths which are worthless except when they are the offspring of a pure heart; but a word, which neither Job nor his friends pronounce, has acquired a sublime meaning and an inestimable value: *duty*, with its incalculable philosophic consequences, in being laid upon all, resolves all doubts, reconciles all oppositions, and becomes a foundation on which to reconstruct all that reason destroys or abandons. Thanks to this revelation without ambiguity or doubt, we are able to declare that he who has chosen the right is the truly wise man. Such an one will be immortal; *for his works shall live in the eventual triumph of justice, an epitome of the divine work which mankind is accomplishing.*"

Such is the fallacious morality, which aims at solving the profoundest problems without recognizing the idea of God or of individual immortality. Out of all Kant's philosophy only the categorical imperative has been retained, which is a thorough absurdity, a tree without roots as it is without fruit,

from the moment when it no longer holds fast, as its indispensable sanction, to faith in God and in a future life. It is simply, with a more finished style, the gross *positivism* of Auguste Comte and his school. It believes only in the world of matter and of the senses, or at most in the laws of celestial mechanism; and it thinks itself greatly in advance of Job and his friends in reducing all the hopes of humanity to this derisive prospect:

"The wicked man, whether foolish or frivolous, shall perish forever, in the sense, that he has contributed nothing to the general result of the labor of his race; but the votary of things beautiful and good will partake of *the immortality of that which he has loved*. . . . The works of the man of genius and the good man alone escape the universal decadence, for they only are counted among things surely attained, and their fruits go on increasing even when an ungrateful humanity has utterly forgotten them."

In the above notice of Renan's work on Job, we have been occupied chiefly with the speculative and religious position of the author, so that in sketching his volume on Canticles we may confine our attention to his critical results. Renan regards the Song of Solomon as dramatic, though it does not present the progressive plot, nor maintain the unities of time and place, which belong to the fully developed drama. It was perhaps designed to be recited or acted in some rude way at a marriage entertainment. This theory of the character of the poem is by no means new. It was originally propounded by a certain Jacobi near the end of the last century, and has since been advocated by Herder, Umbreit, Ewald and other eminent Biblical scholars. These writers, though differing widely in details, all make the book consist in the dramatic evolution of the incidents of a simple story. The design of the story is to glorify a virtuous affection, and "to display the victory of humble and constant love over the temptations of wealth and royalty." The heroine is a maiden of the village of Shulem in the tribe of Issachar, who is carried off by the attendants of King Solomon, while they are scouring Northern Palestine in search of candidates for his harem. Transported to the splendor of Solomon's court, she resists its enticements and remains faithful in her attachment to a young shepherd of

her native village. The king is compelled to abandon his suit, the maiden is recovered by her lover, and the two renew their vows. This, according to Renan, is the simple story of the poem. The story is brought out in the form of dialogue, in which we find the expression of feelings proper to the several characters of the piece, but without the clear progression and verisimilitude of the Greek and Roman drama. It was perhaps performed at wedding festivals, but not with the machinery of the modern stage. The actors were probably all present during the representation, the maiden, the peasant, and Solomon, as principal actors, standing in the front, the court ladies, chorus, etc., a little behind them. In the imperfection of scenic display and dramatic structure, the Canticles may be compared with the sacred dramas of the middle ages.

As to date of the poem, Renan rejects the view of those who place its composition in the last times of the Hebrew literature. The currency of this view Renan ascribes to the imperfect method of the school of Gesenius, which sought to fix the age of Hebrew books by reference to linguistic peculiarities, with little regard to historical and literary considerations. The Chaldaic coloring of the Canticles always tinged the dialects of the North, and perhaps also the popular language of the South. There is no phrase or word (except the word *paradise*) which may not be explained by the probable locality or purpose of the writer. This word, it is true, seems to have entered the Hebrew, as it entered the Greek language, at a late period. But it may have been added by a copyist or redactor; and, at any rate, ought not to outweigh strong opposing reasons. The title, on the other hand, ascribes the book to Solomon; but this has no more authority than the inscriptions of the Psalms and cannot overcome internal evidence. The prevailing tone of the piece Renan thinks to be inconsistent with a Solomonic authorship. The manners of Solomon's court are not presented in a favorable light. The republican simplicity of ancient Israel is still dear to the writer, and he is not inclined to commend the king who did more to destroy it than any other monarch. For the same reason, the writer could not have lived in a late period. Time gathered a

halo of glory around the name of Solomon, and in the books of Kings and Chronicles he is magnified in every way. There is, also, one particular which, in the view of M. Renan, carries the book almost to the age of Solomon. In vi, 4, the heroine is compared to the beauty of Tirzah and of Jerusalem. The poet seems to place Tirzah in the same rank with Jerusalem. Tirzah was the capital of the kingdom of Israel from the reign of Jeroboam to that of Omri, i. e. from 975 to 924. In 923 Omri built Samaria, which became henceforth the capital of the northern kingdom. From that time, Tirzah disappeared from history, and its fall was so complete that its situation is wholly-unknown. It is improbable that a writer in the last days of the kingdom would have placed it in such striking contrast with Jerusalem.

The plan of the Canticles, as determined by M. Renan, excludes from the book any religious or mystical meaning. He remarks that the only plausible argument for the allegorical interpretation is derived from the existence of an erotic form of mystical poetry in the Indian and Persian literature. But this poetry is of recent origin, the product of a degenerate age, when genuine poetical feeling had died out and a fondness for artificiality and fanciful conceits had taken its place. In India, at least, it would seem that the allegorizing taste and exegesis preceded the allegorical poems and occasioned their composition. Much of the poetry, which has been reckoned in this class, had in the intention of its authors no religious import. Thus the hidden meaning of the poems of the Persian Hafiz exists only in the fancy of the commentators. Moreover the refinements of mysticism were utterly foreign to the simple and vigorous spirit of the old Hebrew. An erotic poem with a hidden religious meaning among the Hebrews of the tenth century before Christ would have been the strangest of anachronisms. The allegorical interpretation, which has prevailed both among Jews and Christians, sprang up with the formation of the Canon. The Song of Songs, rescued from destruction amid the general shipwreck of the old Hebrew literature, became in the Persian period an object of reverence, and, as the religious spirit grew more intense, an object of religious

reverence. This sought its justification in a spiritual sense, until at length the allegorical interpretation gained general currency, shortly before the Christian era. It has ever since continued the interpretation of the church, yet it is wholly baseless and must disappear before sound criticism. But though the Song of Songs is a love poem, it is nevertheless, says Renan, worthy of a place in the sacred book. It exalts above mere sensual passion the power of a virtuous affection.

"Let us place it boldly in the ark where holy things are kept; let us allow the theologian to believe that to save the honor of the old Canticles it is necessary to travesty it; and for those who would defend that obsolete interpretation by reasons of expediency, let us recall the answer of Niebuhr to a young clergyman who was troubled by the necessity of admitting a love-song into the Biblical Canon: 'For myself,' promptly replied that eminent critic, 'I should think that the Bible lacked something, if there was found in it no expression for what is deepest and strongest in the feelings of human nature.'"

Our object in the above sketch has not been criticism; we have thought merely to illustrate Renan's method of handling the Hebrew Scriptures. His influence is not inconsiderable, and every student of the Bible will be interested in knowing something of the tone and teaching of his works.

ART. VI.—FISHER'S SERMONS AND ADDRESSES.

Occasional Sermons and Addresses. By SAMUEL W. FISHER, D.D., President of Hamilton College. New-York: Mason Brothers. 1861.

THIS volume is made up of detached treatises on distinct, yet for the most part related, themes. Each one is complete in itself and independent of the others in its discussion. They were prepared, each for its occasion and for its individual end, and manifestly without any reference to their future collection in a volume. But there is a harmony between the various parts, which could hardly have been better secured had the

author, from the preparation of the first to that of the last, designed eventually to combine them.

This coincidence, manifestly undesigned, is evidence of such mental excellence as highly commends Dr. Fisher for the important position which he holds as President of Hamilton College. There are few situations where harmony of mental operations is more effective for good, and where frequent discrepancy of sentiment is more potential for evil, than in that of a teacher of youth.

The one type of mind secures influence at once, in that it furnishes evidence that its opinions have not been lightly adopted, but gravely weighed and put, each one in its proper place, compared with and adjusted to all the others. Dr. Griffin used familiarly to say, that he had a pigeon-hole in his mind for every principle which he had carefully considered and settled, and that there he kept it for the comparison and decision of other questions.

But the other style of mind which has no fixed principles, which adopts an opinion to-day and discards it for a contrary one to-morrow, is unsafe in its teachings, unreliable in its decisions, and impotent in its influence over other minds. As a certain learned Professor—who shall be nameless—in one of our literary institutions, would at one time before his class vehemently advocate a certain theory in ethics, or a certain opinion in exegesis, or a certain doctrine in theology, and a few days afterwards, perhaps, assume and maintain an entirely contrary position, thus paralysing all his influence as a teacher.

The mind of Dr. Fisher, as developed in this volume, shows itself possessed of a symmetry of proportion, a harmony of movement, combined with standard principles, that must, when perceived and appreciated, give him magnetic power over youth.

But we proceed to specify more in detail the contents of the volume. It consists of "Educational Discourses," "Literary Addresses," "Historical Discourses and Essays," and "Occasional Sermons;" four of each class.

The Discourses on Education will naturally, from the author's position, attract most attention. These will be regard-

ed as an index of his views on the great subject of education. Though some of his opinions may be somewhat novel, and perhaps not very generally received—we refer especially to what he says on making the Bible a text-book in colleges—yet we think they will bear to be canvassed. And his views generally on the subject of education will not, we think, be considered by the public as unworthy the head of an important collegiate institution.

The importance of a “sound mind in a sound body” is happily illustrated in the following extract :

“There is indeed a much more intimate connection between the highest efforts of mind and a sound constitution, than we are ordinarily ready to admit. We discourse of the superiority of the soul to the body, until we half persuade ourselves the one is almost complete without the other.

“We call up instances of men, who, like Calvin, with a feeble frame, have undergone prodigious intellectual labor; but we forget how these very men have generally died before their time: we forget how many minds have been crippled and rendered useless by ill health: we mark the exceptions and lose sight of the rule. The steam is useless unless your boiler be staunch; your mental culture will never qualify you for protracted and high-wrought thought, unless you have physical stamina to sustain you in the effort. There is nothing that so tasks the power of endurance as the incessant mental toil required of most of our professional and educated men; and he, who comes forth to his work with a hale constitution, has an advantage inestimable above his feeble and broken compeer. It was due largely to his high health and strong constitution, established by early toil, that Washington bore up the burden of so immense a responsibility, for so many years of public life.

“It was his early drill in the army that imparted to him, whose illustrious name this institution bears, the vital force that sustained him in his gigantic labors, which, while they won the gratitude of a nation, gave him the highest seat among the great intellects of the Revolution.”

There is great force in the above statements. It needs no demonstration to prove that a feeble body, *ceteris paribus*, will not enable its possessor to achieve those intellectual conquests to which it is equal when the body is active and strong. Daniel Webster, for example, with his stalwart frame, put forth at times efforts of mind, without any sensible effect upon him, which would have prostrated almost any man of feeble constitution. It is related of him that he was at a social party,

on the evening of his first day's reply to Col. Hayne, fresh and in good spirits, after speaking under great excitement four or five hours. During the evening, he fell in with Col. Hayne, and the following *jeu d'esprit* passed between them. Mr. Webster said: "Good evening, Colonel, how do you do?" The latter playfully replied: "I am but just alive from your unmerciful handling of me to-day. I hope you will spare me to-morrow." Mr. Webster pleasantly answered: "Ah! no, no, Colonel, I have not done with you yet. Gird yourself up like a man. To-morrow shall be as this day, and much more abundant."

Great intellectual efforts of one, two, or three days' continuance, often bring down men of delicate frame with nervous exhaustion, or some other form of suffering. But it has never come to our knowledge that Mr. Webster was thus affected. Now, with Mr. Webster compare Rufus Choate in this respect. Mr. Choate, after one of his great efforts at the bar, would often have to keep his room for one, two, or three days. We know very well that Choate and Webster were very different men in their emotional, as well as in their physical natures. But we think if Mr. Choate had possessed the physical frame of Mr. Webster, his intellectual efforts would have exhausted him less, and he would have lived to a much greater age than he did. As it was, the working of his mind in his comparatively slender body, resembled the movement of the heaviest machinery in a frame-work of slight and frail construction. But we cannot pursue this topic further, either in the way of theory or illustration. Let it suffice to say, that it is one of superlative importance, and that, if a man would accomplish the most for God and his race, he must see to it that his physical powers are in strong and healthy action. And that instructor of youth, whether he be President of a college or laboring in a much more humble way, who either ignores, or gives no attention to, this branch of education fails in the discharge of a part of his duty.

But we proceed to consider a more important topic, which Dr. Fisher discusses at length in this Address. This topic is *Religious Education*. Of such education he proposes that the

Bible shall be made not only the *basis*, but the *text-book*. He discusses the subject with great earnestness and force; and his views are eminently just and worthy an educator of the youth of a Christian people.

We have not room for extended extracts, but make one, which will give an idea of his general views.

"In point of fact, how is it that *science* is most successfully taught in this stage of education? Is it not by a direct study of facts, of laws, of problems?

"Why is it not sufficient for the teacher to lecture on the beauties of Tacitus or Æschylus, on mental and moral philosophy, on mathematics and chemistry? Because these young minds must first be made intimately acquainted with the language of Tacitus and Æschylus, with the facts on which mental and moral science is based, and the nature of the truths that constitute mathematical science, before you can advance with them to a demonstration of that which is pure science. The lecturer on chemistry, and geology, and botany, takes the facts first, and familiarises the mind with them by a series of actual experiments; and then there is a foundation on which to build up a regular system of organic law. Now this method of education, which must be pursued whenever thorough scientific education is effected, is just that which ought to be pursued in the department of Christian science. Instead of leaving the Bible, the grand embodiment of all the facts of the Christian system, on the shelf for four long years, during the most fruitful period of life, at the very time when the principles and facts that bear the finest fruit in our after-career, take root, we must take it down; we must make it the book which our youth shall study, study from Genesis to Revelation, study in its history, its laws, its prophecy, its poetry, its philosophy, its theology, its Christology. We teach science by a thorough examination of those works which constitute its clearest exposition; we take the finest classic writers to teach language, the ablest mathematical works to teach mathematics; we gather up the most striking facts of natural science wherewith to experiment; we analyse the works of the ablest reasoners to obtain a mastery of logic, and of the most eloquent orators to enter into the science of rhetoric; and when God has given us the finest product of his wisdom, pregnant with the grandest forms of thought, rich in the most remarkable history, full of those facts, which running through more than 4000 years, culminate at last in the most wonderful creation of humanity, in the most amazing exhibition of divinity, and the full development of a system of truth vital to the redemption of the soul; shall we, having charge of youth in the very years when they are most impressible, shall we not induct them thoroughly into these thoughts, these facts, this grand system? Shall we deem our duty done when we have read a daily chapter, and preached a weekly sermon, and lectured a few times on

some of the evidences of its inspiration? Shall we be wiser for time than we are for eternity, and train up youth richer in Pagan than in Christian lore? The Bible is the heart, the sun, of a truly Christian education; and how shall we educate men as Christians, how shall we ground them effectually in that which constitutes Christianity, unless we do for them what Cicero would have done for educated Roman youth, in respect to the twelve tables—make it the *carmen necessarium* of an educated American? If he could say, that the ‘twelve tables were worth more than all the libraries of the philosopher,’ and therefore should be studied more constantly and profoundly, may we not, with equal truth, affirm that the Bible is worth more than all philosophy, all natural science, all other forms of thought, and therefore it should be of all books the most profoundly studied, the most constantly present through the whole process of education?”

No one who loves and venerates the “oracles of God” can doubt that a chord is here struck which must, sooner or later, vibrate to the very heart of all those who regard the Bible as the “book of books.” For among all books the Bible stands alone. There is no other book like it; some of its parts are so simple as to be comprehensible by a child, while some are so sublime as to serve for the proper study of angels. Parts of it instruct us as to the cradling of creation, and parts of it give us apocalyptic visions of a period when this creation shall be no more. The Bible, again, is a perfect mirror of the human race, furnishing the best portraits of man any where to be found, daguerreotyping his heart with the precision of science, where nothing is extenuated nor aught set down in malice. Its history is the record of truth, without any admixture of error, and a perfect model for all historians. Its poetry is more sublime than that of Homer, and more tender than that of Virgil; by the diligent study of which divine model for twenty years, Milton, the prince of uninspired poets, was equipped for the production of the *Paradise Lost*, that masterpiece of secular poesy.

But the crowning glory of the Bible is its proclamation of redemption. This must invest it in the eye of fallen man with a sublimity of interest. In the Bible alone are to be found the revelation and the record of the plan which Infinite Wisdom devised for the salvation of a perishing world. This involved the stupendous fact of the humiliation and death of

the Son of God—a transaction to which we search in vain for a parallel. To this agree the words of Robert Hall: “It is safe to say that nothing so remarkable as the death of Christ has ever been transacted on the theatre of the universe. It must stand forever as a miracle in the divine administration.”

Now, a book having such characteristics, and revealing such a divine economy, may well claim the earnest attention of the youth of a Christian land while in a course of liberal education. And shall such a claim be still, to a great degree, ignored or disregarded by Christian educators? We trust not. The wonder is that institutions of learning, planted frequently by Christian men, and consecrated (in many cases) *Deo et ecclesiæ*, should so long have slumbered over this matter.

President Fisher, in his Inaugural, modestly yet cogently pleads the cause before the bar of public opinion, and suggests the following method of accomplishing the object:

“Then I would secure the constant study of the Bible by making proficiency in the knowledge of it enter into the final estimate of the character and standing of the scholar. In this respect it should occupy the same position in the college curriculum as any other study.

“Instead of being left to the caprice of the student, to be engaged in or not as he may choose, it should be enforced precisely as is the study of the classics or mathematics. If each recitation enters into, and constitutes the standing of the scholar, so would I have the recitation on this book, and the attainments made in this noble study, go towards determining the sum total of his entire acquisitions. If to this it be objected that religion is an affair of the heart—a voluntary matter, I answer, that if religion belongs to the heart, its great vital truths belong to the head, and are to be investigated by the same intellectual processes we employ in any other science. If attention to it is voluntary, so is all education voluntary; you cannot compel men, young or old, to think; but you can place the young in such circumstances, and surround them with such influences, as will contribute powerfully to awaken thought in any desirable direction.”

This method is altogether practicable, and, we doubt not, will operate with great power upon a certain class of minds which it is very desirable to reach.

But we would suggest another method by way of supplement to this. Every student knows that the manner in which a study or science is taught usually does more than the text-book itself to secure interest in and profit from that study.

No one, in our judgment, is competent to occupy the chair of instruction in the department under consideration, unless he be a man profoundly versed in the history, the literature, the doctrines, and the original languages of the Bible. To give due efficiency to this system we would have in every college, where it was possible, a professorship of the Bible. It should be fully endowed. The incumbent should be a man of as much weight of character, as much wealth of learning, as much love and knowledge of the Bible as could be found. He should be a man of enthusiasm in his department. He should have his recitations fixed and definite in the course of college study; and it should be his aim to make them as clear and as impressive as possible. He should cherish the utmost freedom of inquiry on the part of his class, encouraging them to bring forward all their objections, all their "strong reasons" against the Bible; and he should be prepared to meet them and show their fallacy. Such a process of teaching the Bible two or three times a week through the year, would do more, in our judgment, to exterminate infidelity from the precincts of a college than any other human agency. It would be the spear of Ithuriel to much of the scepticism that is so rife in many of our colleges. It is related of Dr. Dwight, that at a certain period in the history of Yale College, when French infidelity was very prevalent, he invited his class, and any of the other classes that wished, to meet and discuss with him the subject. He suggested to them that they should prepare themselves, and support their cause with their strongest reasons. At the set time he met them, and gave to all who wished an opportunity to discuss the subject; and when all such had spoken, and had made an argument, which some thought even "the Doctor" could not overthrow, he took up the subject, examined each argument, showing its fallacy, and made of every one of their positions a "ruinous heap." From that time for many years there was very little of open scepticism in Yale College.

Now, if in our leading colleges such a professorship were to be established as we have proposed; and if it were to be filled by such a man as has been described; and if, further, the standing of each member of the class were to be graduated by

his proficiency in this as in every other class study, a new era would be inaugurated in the history of education to which might be applied the glowing prediction of the Latin poet: *Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo.*

As to the practicability of the foregoing plan there can be little question. Benevolent men are not wanting who would rejoice to endow liberally professorships in most, if not all our colleges, for so noble a purpose; and men of the requisite competency might easily be found to fill such professorships. Much more might be said on this subject, but our limits do not permit.

We have in this article confined our remarks, in a great measure, to this one address on the subject of Collegiate Education. There are several of the others to which we should be happy to draw attention, but this on Collegiate Education claims the preference, both from Dr. Fisher's official position and for other reasons.

The Institution over which he presides has before it, we fondly trust, a brilliant future. It has advantages which can hardly fail to secure to it, sooner or later, a high degree of prosperity. But still it needs the filial devotion of its alumni, the fostering care of that beautiful region in which it is situated, and the liberal legislative policy of the Empire State, of which it is one of the gems. It bears the name of a man who was once the pride of New-York, than whom no man, perhaps, ever had sounder views of the nature of the government which this nation required. His knowledge of the democracies of ancient and modern times satisfied him of the necessity of strengthening the executive arm of the government. And it is not too much, perhaps, to say, that had his views been more thoroughly incorporated with the frame-work of our Constitution, we should never have witnessed the state of things which now exists, filling every benevolent heart with unutterable sadness.

ART. VII.—*Codex Alexandrinus.* Η ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ.
Novum Testamentum Græce ex antiquissimo codice Alexandrino a C. G. WOIDE olim descriptum: ad fidem ipsius codicis denuo accuratius edidit B. H. COWPER. Londini; David Nutt, et Williams & Norgate; Edinburgæ: Williams & Norgate. MDCCCLX.*

WE were once talking with the late president of Magdalen College, Dr. Routh, about the manuscripts of the Greek Testament, when he made the following remark: "You see, sir, it is possible that a manuscript may yet be found as old as any that we now have, perhaps even older." The words of the venerable theologian have proved to be almost a prophecy. The remarkable discovery by Professor Tischendorf of the "Codex Sinaiticus" bids fair, if the professor be right in his estimate, exactly to fulfil Dr. Routh's anticipation. In a recent number† we drew attention to the interesting "Notitia," with which Professor Tischendorf has favored the Christian world, as the first instalment of his most valuable contribution to the documentary evidence for the Greek text of the Old and New Testaments. The seasonable appearance of a reprint from Woide's noble but expensive facsimile edition of the "Codex Alexandrinus," invites us now to devote a short space to the consideration of our own national treasure.

The "Codex Alexandrinus" (denoted by the letter "A" in the critical editions of the New Testament) was brought by Sir Thomas Roe, on his return to London from an embassy to the Porte in 1628, as a present to Charles I. from Cyril Lucar, patriarch, first of Alexandria, then of Constantinople. The

* This Article is from the *Christian Remembrancer* (London), April, 1861.

† See *Christian Remembrancer*, January, 1861. The selected readings given in the *Notitia* have been printed in a size uniform with that of Tischendorf's *editio septima* of the Greek Testament; the half sheet is supplied (we believe gratuitously) to all purchasers of that edition.

same patriarch gave to Archbishop Laud the Arabic Pentateuch now in the Bodleian library.* He was strangled 27th of June, 1638, by order of the Sultan.

The MS. had been brought from Alexandria by Cyril Lucar; and a note in the MS. itself informs us that it was given in the year 1098, "cubiculo patriarchali Alexandriæ;" that is (probably) to the library of the patriarch of Alexandria, where it seems to have remained until it was taken by Cyril Lucar to Constantinople. This is perhaps the origin of its name. Another account states that the MS. was found at Mount Athos. It was given by King George II. in 1753 to the British Museum, where it now is.

The MS. was first examined by Patrick Young (or Junius), the royal librarian; then by Alexander Huissius, whose collation is inserted in Walton's "Polyglot." Bishops Fell and Pearson had the MS. sent to Dr. Thomas Smith, fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, with a view of having an edition made; but their death seems to have cut the work short. The name of Fell, however, appears among the collators; to which may be added the names of Mill, Grabe, Wetstein. In 1786 Woide published a facsimile edition of the New Testament with copious prolegomena; he also appended notes embodying the labors of former collators, and a comparison of the readings in the MS. with those in Kuster's edition of Mill's Greek Testament. A facsimile edition of the LXX. was published by H. H. Baber; the first volume in 1816, the second volume in 1819, the third volume in 1821; the prolegomena and notes in 1828. This edition is said to be inferior to that of Woide;† but it is certainly a very handsome work; and we are not at present concerned with it, except so far as it helps to illustrate that portion of the MS. to which the New Testament belongs.

The MS. consists of four volumes. The three first contain the LXX. version. The fourth contains the canonical books

* Numbered "Laud 258."

† "Quam parum vero editor Veteris Testamenti Henr. Herv. Baber susceptæ rei satisfecerit, exposui in Prolegomenis editionis meæ Veteris Testamenti Græci."
—*Tisch. Prolog. N. T. p. cxxxvi, note.*

of the New Testament, the 1st epistle of S. Clement to the Corinthians, and part of the 2d Epistle attributed to S. Clement. We propose at present to speak merely of the part containing the New Testament. The leaves have been unhappily lost, from S. Matthew i, 1 to S. Matthew xxv, 7, where the New Testament portion commences with the words *εξερχεσθε εις απαντησιν αυτον*. Two leaves have been lost out of S. John's Gospel; here the MS. breaks off at the word *καταβαινων*, vi, 50; and recommences viii, 52 with *γεις* i. e. part of *λεγεις*. Three more leaves are wanting in 2 Cor. Here the MS. breaks off in iv, 13, at *γεγραμμε* i. e. part of *γεγραμμενον*; and recommences in xii, 7 with *ηυπερβολη* i. e. part of *και τη υπερβολη*.

For a description of the form and appearance of the MS. we may borrow a short passage from Mr. Cowper's introduction.

"The portion containing the New Testament is a volume measuring somewhat more than ten inches wide and fourteen inches high. The material is thin, fine, and very beautiful vellum, often discolored at the edges, which have been injured by time, but more by the ignorance or carelessness of the modern binder, who has not always spared the text, especially at the upper inner margin. The manuscript is written in a light and elegant hand in uncial letters. These letters at the end of a line are often very small, and much of the writing is very pale and faint. Each page contains two columns of text. In the margins to the left hand, the Eusebian canons are noted throughout the four Gospels, as well as the larger sections into which these books were anciently divided. Some of the numeral letters, and the commencement of the separate books throughout have been written in red ink, as also are some of the ornamental portions, which are due to the fancy of the scribe. These letters are sometimes diversified with other colors."—*Introduction*, pp. iii, iv.

The number of leaves now in the volume (including the Epistles of S. Clement) is, according to Mr. Cowper, 143. Int. p. vi, *note*.

The MS. is written in uncial characters; there is no division of words except at the end of one and the beginning of another paragraph. There are no accents or breathings. Of interpunction there is but little trace, and what there is seems sometimes very arbitrary. The point most in use is the Greek colon (·); the point (—) also occurs. But it often happens that the point falls "between words grammatically connected, and

even in the middle of a word.”—(Intr. p. viii.) It does not appear that any great use can be made of these points for critical purposes. The system of paragraphs approaches more nearly to a definite division of the text; these are very numerous; and there is a considerable space between the end of one paragraph and the beginning of another. This beginning is marked by a larger initial letter, with the following curious modification: when the new paragraph commences in the middle of a line, the larger initial letter is reserved for the first letter at the commencement of the line following, even though that first letter may happen to be in the middle of a word.* At the end of a line, the letters are sometimes written smaller, in order to get in an extra word or two. There is no subscript or adscript. A difference in the ink, parchment, formation of letters, etc., seems to indicate that the original MS. was written by more than one scribe; these differences Woide describes. Throughout the MS. there are erasures, alterations, additions. “Corrections properly so called are frequent, and it is not always possible to decide whether they are by the first, second, or third hand.” (Intr. p. v.) The inscriptions and subscriptions to each book are ancient but not always from the first hand. The MS. has the Alexandrine forms *λημψονται*, *αειλαν*, etc.; also the usual itacisms *αι* for *ε*, *ε* for *αι*, etc.

In the Gospels are the Ammonian sections accompanied by the Eusebian canons. A list of numbered *τίτλοι* or larger sections is prefixed to each gospel, and these are again written in their respective places at the top of the page, their exact place in the text being designated by a mark at the left margin, γ. in S. Matthew and S. Mark, by + or × in S. Luke and S. John. In the Acts, Catholic Epistles, Pauline Epistles there are no Euthalian sections, though there are paragraphs and periods marked by larger initial letters. There are no Andrean sections in the Apocalypse. There are the usual short methods of writing *ΘC KC ANOC OYNOC ΔΑΔ*, etc.

The Epistle to the Hebrews comes between 2 Thessalonians

* E. g. ΑΥΤΟΥ ΤΟΤΕΗΓΕΡΘΗCΑΝΗΑ
CΑΙΑΙΗΑΡΘΕΝΟΙ κ. τ. λ.

and 1 Timothy. A similar arrangement is found in the Codex Sinaiticus, and in the Codex Vaticanus; in this latter, however, the numeral letters at the margin show that in the MS. from which it was copied, the Epistle to the Hebrews came between the Epistle to the Galatians and the Epistle to the Ephesians.

Inserted in the first volume is a note in Arabic, and another note in the handwriting of Cyril Lucar, stating a tradition that the MS. both of the Old and New Testaments was written by Thecla, an Egyptian lady, shortly after the Council of Nice.* Prefixed to the Psalms are the Epistle to Marcellinus, ascribed to Athanasius; Eusebii in Psalmos Hypotheses; *περιοχαι εις τους ψαλμους*, and a table containing the *κανονες ημερινοι ψαλμων* and the *κανονες νυκτερινοι των ψαλμων*. The Magnificat and other hymns from the Old and New Testaments are appended to the Psalms, the former being entitled *προσευχη μαριας της θεοτοκου*. Among the hymns is the *υμνος εωθινος*.

In the first volume is also a list of the books of the Old and New Testaments, the latter being given as follows:†

Η ΚΑΙΝΗΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ (in red ink)

ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΑ Δ

ΚΑΤΑ ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΝ

ΚΑΤΑ ΜΑΡΚΟΝ

ΚΑΤΑ ΛΟΥΚΑΝ

ΚΑΤΑ ΙΩΑΝΝΗΝ

ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ ΑΠΟCΤΟΛΩΝ

ΚΑΘΟΑΙΚΑΙ Ζ

* Tischendorf conjectures that the MS. may have come "ex celebri S. Theclæ cœnobio Seleucensi, quod jam Gregorii Nazianzeni tempore florebat."—*Prolog. N. T.* p. cxxxvi, note. Facsimiles of the two notes are given in Baber, vol. I.

† The list (part of which appeared in the last number of the *Christian Remembrancer*) is taken from Baber's facsimile, the bracketed letters in the text denoting the letters which are entirely missing in Baber. The portions bracketed as now illegible in Mr. Cowper's list (Int. pp. xiii, xvi.) are somewhat different. ‡ Woide brackets none.

ΕΠΙCΤΟΛΑΙ ΠΑ[ΥΛ]ΟΥ ΙΔ
 ΑΠΟΚΑΤ[ΥΦΙ]C ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ
 Κ[Α]ΗΜΕΝΤΟC [ΕΠΙCΤΟ]ΛΗ^Α
 [ΚΑΗΜ]ΕΝΤΟC Ε[ΠΙCΤΟΛΗ] Β
 [ΟΜ]ΟΥΒΙΒΑΙΑ (erasure)
 ΨΑΛΜ[Ο]Ι CΟΛΟΜ[Ω]ΝΤΟC
 ΙΗ*

On the list written in this order Woide has the following remarks: "Ex hoc ordine palam est, Epistolas Clementis non tantum adscribi calci librorum N. T. uti Libri Apocryphi adduntur, *sed etiam, quod majus est*, adnumerari libris Canonicis Scripturæ N. T. quorum summa ΚΘ, 29, olim addita fuit ad lineam *ομον βιβλια*, sed nunc deperdita est. . . . Idem fecerat librarius in initio catalogi V. T. ubi cum libros 5 Mosis et librum Josuæ, Judicum et Ruth recensuisset addit hoc modo *ομον βιβλια. η*."

Such is an outline of the principal facts connected with this famous MS. The important questions, When was the MS. written? and Where? do not fall within our present purpose to discuss. It will be sufficient simply to observe that, whatever may be thought of the tradition which assigns the writing of the MS. to Thecla, the tradition certainly points to Egypt as the country where it was written. With this agree the shape of the letters, the spelling of the words, the state of the text; to which may be added a curious circumstance, first (as we believe) remarked by Mr. Cowper, which shall be described in his own words (Int. p. xxii.):

"The MS. has been ornamented, more especially at the close of each book, by some one, and in all probability by the original scribe. The ornaments are some of them very peculiar, and the question naturally occurs whether they furnish any clue to the country of the Codex. Many of them bear a striking resemblance to similar ornaments in some of the very ancient Syriac MSS.

* These numerals are given once only in Baber, twice in Woide and Mr. Cowper.

which are now in our National Museum, all of which have been brought from Egypt, and many of them are known to have been written there. There is one, however, of especial interest, and this, in an unexpected manner, confirms the opinion that Codex A. was written in Egypt. At the end of the Catholic epistles, two baskets of fruit are depicted in colored inks. These baskets are of a peculiar form and texture, being narrower at the bottom than at the top, and apparently of fancy wicker work. Each of them is filled with fruit, and this fruit is piled up in a pyramidal form above the basket, in regularly decreasing tiers, or courses. Happening to visit the Egyptian gallery of the British Museum, we observed upon one of the walls, fragments of an Egyptian painting, representing, among other things, baskets of fruit. The resemblance of these to those in Codex A. is so striking, that we mentally uttered a *εὐρηκα* as we looked at them."

It is certainly not a little extraordinary, that the Egyptian Gallery in the British Museum should have furnished so remarkable an illustration of the venerable MS. its next door neighbor. Mr. Cowper remarks, "that the figures given by Woide, in his edition, are nothing like the originals." (Int. pp. xxii. xxiii.) We may add, that in Baber, vol. iii. p. 531, may be seen a beautiful facsimile of a fruit-basket, answering to Mr. Cowper's description. With regard to the date of the MS. Woide, after a careful survey of the data furnished by the MS. itself, places it "*intra medium et finem seculi quarti.*" Tischendorf places it later—"medio fere sæculo quinto." With him agree Dr. Tregelles and Mr. Cowper.

The edition of Woide professes to represent the MS. in facsimile. Mr. Cowper's edition is the first attempt at reducing the MS. into the ordinary cursive characters, the words being separated, marked with breathings and accents, and punctuated. The volume is portable and neatly printed. In the preface is much useful matter, from which we have just given an interesting extract; but those who wish to have a full statement and discussion of the merits of the MS. must have recourse to the prolegomena of Woide. We regret to find, in the preface, some misprints in the accentuation at p. xxv. In line 1, *καρόνες* is printed without an accent. The numerical letters of the Psalms in the *καρόνες ἡμερινοί*, are printed *ἡ. κθ.*, etc., instead of *ἡ. κθ'.*, etc. A similar error pervades all the numerical letters both for the hours and the psalms in the

κανόνες νυκτερινοί. Nor is this blemish confined to the preface. In Matt. xxvi, 16, we have ἀργύρα for ἀργυρᾶ; xxvi, 36, ἄν for ἄν; xxvi, 48, ἔαν for ἐάν; xxvii, 35, βάλλοντες for βαλόντες; xxvii, 52, μνημάτα for μνήματα. Mk. i, 39, συναγωγὰς for συναγωγὰς.* The punctuation, too, seems deficient in certain instances—e. g. Mt. xxvi, 65, ὅτι ἐβλασφήμησεν τί ἔτι χρεῖαν ἔχομεν μαρτύρων; there is no stop after ἐβλασφήμησεν. Again, in the same verse—"Ἰδε, νῦν ἠκούσατε τὴν βλασφημίαν αὐτοῦ τί ὑμῖν δοκεῖ; there is no stop after αὐτοῦ.

But a very serious variation from the text of Woide, and we may add from the MS. itself, remains to be pointed out. In Mt. xxvi, 3, Mr. Cowper's text exhibits, Τότε συνήχθησαν οἱ ἀχειρεῖς καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τοῦ λαοῦ, etc. In a note we read "αχειρεῖς sic Codex." But our readers will be surprised when they are informed that the words καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς are not in Woide at all. Besides on the testimony of former collators—Young, Walton, Fell, Mill, Wetstein—it is, in Woide's notes, expressly said of these words, "*Desunt*." We have ascertained that the words καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς are not in the MS.; and that αχειρεῖς is an error of Woide's, the MS. reading αρχιερεῖς. Yet Mr. Cowper says "αχειρεῖς, sic Codex." (!)

Again, Mk. vii, 36. Mr. Cowper's text exhibits ὅσον δὲ αὐτὸς αὐτοῖς διεστέλλετο, etc. But the word αὐτός is not in Woide; and again, on the testimony of Young, Walton, Fell, Mill, Wetstein, it is said of the word, "*Deest*." This departure from Woide's text requires explanation. Mr. Cowper has no note, and his table of errata is silent on the point.

We come now to what may, perhaps, be considered the most valuable part in Mr. Cowper's edition, viz. his correction of the errors in Woide. It may be well to cite, in the first instance, how his edition was prepared, according to his own statement. (Int. p. xxxi.):

"The work of Woide has been taken as a basis, inasmuch as it was impracticable, and indeed unnecessary, to make an entirely new transcript of

* Mark v, 20, ἀκῆλθεν; v, 23, παρακάλει for παρακαλεῖ; vi, 23, ἐάν for ἐάν. In Woide, the marginal sections, νη, ξ, ξγ, in S. Mark belong respectively, to vi, 15, vi, 19, vi, 32. Mr. Cowper has misplaced them at vi, 16, vi, 21, vi, 34, respectively. Mk. ix, 28, ἐκβάλειν. x, 7, γυναικι. 24, τέκνια. xi, 3, ἀποστελλεῖ.

the original manuscript. Woide's facsimile has, therefore, been reduced to modern characters, with the addition of accents, aspirates, iota subscript, and pointing. In this process, the facsimile was religiously adhered to. All the missing portions have been supplied from Kuster's edition of Mill, and so inserted in brackets that they may easily be known. . . . Having so far prepared the text, the next step was to compare the text of Woide and collation with the other collations, and to make notes of all omissions and discrepancies. This process required great care, and was repeated in various forms. The list of passages was found to be large, and the uncertain readings thus brought to light were, some of them, of real importance. It appeared that several hundred readings had to be attested. Access to the manuscript was therefore solicited, and at once conceded in the most liberal spirit. Throughout the volume constant reference has been made to the original, and, in this way, not only were doubtful readings verified, but a good many actual errors in Woide's text have been brought to light and corrected."

We gather, then, from this, that Woide's facsimile was not compared line by line, word by word, letter by letter, with the MS., but that reference was only made to the MS. *pro re nata*. Further, we cannot understand how the errors pointed out above are consistent with the assertion that "the work of Woide has been taken as a basis," and that, "in this process, the facsimile was religiously adhered to." Had it not been for Mr. Cowper's statement, we should have concluded that some other edition was taken as the basis; and that this was corrected, first by Woide, then by the MS. where it was thought necessary.

The corrections of Woide which Mr. Cowper has given are recorded in foot notes at the bottom of the page where the word or passage occurs.

Mr. Cowper has not, however, always specified among his corrections, those words which Woide had himself corrected, either in the preface or in the notes: *e. g.*, the very first correction which he gives of Woide's facsimile, occurs Mat. xxvii, 13, *καταμαρτυροσιν*, on which Mr. Cowper's note is "Sic Codex: Woide habet *καταμαρτυροσιν*, sed male." Now in Woide's notes the reading is as Mr. Cowper gives it (no doubt correctly) in his text, *καταμαρτυροσιν*. But as he is altogether silent about the discrepancy between Woide's text and Woide's

notes, in respect to this word, he has (we think) in this one instance lost sight of the excellent rule which he had laid down for himself, viz., "Having so far prepared the text, the next step was to compare the text of Woide, *and collation*, with the other collations, and to make notes of all omissions and discrepancies." Now surely if Woide's error in the text was noticed, then in common fairness, Woide's right reading in the notes should have been noticed too. Again, John v, 3, *την του υδατος κινησιν*. Woide omits *του* in the text, but supplies it in the preface. Mr. Cowper very properly restores the *του* in his text. But in his note he says "*του* ante *υδατος* omitit Woide," without one word about Woide's correction given in the preface. There are, we think, seven instances of corrections made by Woide at the end of his preface, unacknowledged by Mr. Cowper.

Take another instance, *e converso*, James ii, 2. Woide reads *εισηλθη*. This reading we ourselves had verified, and we found it to be *εισελθη*. And *εισελθη* is (very properly) the reading in Mr. Cowper's text. But he has no note about the discrepancy between himself and Woide as to this reading.

We have attempted to make, in a rough way, a classification of Mr. Cowper's corrections of Woide's text, but cannot, without a much longer examination, pledge ourselves to perfect accuracy. In by far the greater number of instances, the correction consists in the substitution of long for short vowels, or *vice versa*; *e. g.*:

Mark vi, 8. W. *ζουην*. C. *ζωνην*.

Luke ix, 36, W. *ευρηθη*. C. *ευρεθη*. These two we had ourselves verified.

Of these corrections (including the words corrected by Woide himself, and the passage in S. James, mentioned above) there are forty-two.

There are seven instances of aspirate put for smooth consonants, *e. g.*:

Eph. iv, 1. W. *εκληθηθε*. C. *εκκληθητε*.

W. *πραοθητος*. C. *πραοτητος*.

These two we had verified.

Rev. xii, 3. W. *δραχων*. C. *δρακων*.

There are two omissions of a final *ν*, *e. g.* :

Heb. x, 1. W. *εχω*. C. *εχων*.

Luke xi, 14. W. *εκβαλλω*. C. *εκβαλλων*.

There are twelve instances where Woide has edited one letter for another, or has omitted or has repeated a word or syllable; *e. g.* :

Rom. v, 17. W. *διλ*. C. *δια*.

Luke ii, 10. W. *αγγελ*. C. *αγγελος*.

Rev. ii, 8. W. *λεγεγει*. C. *λεγει*.

The corrections of grammatical or doctrinal importance are as follows :

Mark xv, 21. Woide edits *το σταυρον*.

C. *το[ν] σταυρον*, with this note : "Woide legit *το* ; aderat forte *ν*, sed abscissum est."

Luke xxii, 8. W. *ηλθεν δε ημερα των αζυμων*!

C. adds *η* before *ημερα*.

2 Pet. i, 21. W. *ου γαρ θεληματι ανθρωπου ημεχθη ποτε η προφητεια*. C. omits *η*.

Jude i. W. *τοις εν τω πατρι ηγαπημενοις*.

C. for *τω* reads *θεω*.

5. W. *εκ της αιγυπτου*.

C. for *της* reads *γης*.

Rom. vi, 1. W. *επιμενωμεν εν τη αμαρτια*.

C. omits *εν*.

Rom. xiv, 23. W. *παν δε ο ουκ ο εκ πιστεως*.

C. omits the second *ο*.

Heb. iii, 8. W. *μη σκληρυνετε*.

C. *μη σκληρυνητε*.

Mr. Cowper, in pp. x, xi, of his introduction, gives a useful list of the peculiarities in the orthography of A—*e. g.* the very common itacism of *αι* for *ε*, *καινον* for *κεμον*, *μαι* for *με*, or, again, of *ι* for *ει*, as *ιμι* for *ειμι*; or the neglect of assimilation, as *ανγελος* for *αγγελος*.

Some of these are mentioned in Woide: a longer list is given in Baber.

These peculiarities Mr. Cowper has retained in his text; the reader must not, therefore, be surprised at reading *ινι* for *ενι*, Matt. xxv, 45, *μαι* for *με*, Matt. xxvi, 35, *διγνυσιν* for *δεικνυσιν*, John v, 20. It may be questioned whether such a religious

adherence to the provincialisms of the scribe was necessary: when the MS. has had the words divided, accented, and punctuated for the convenience of the reader, a further departure from its actual letter seems to be justifiable; nor does there seem any sufficient reason for exhibiting in the text words which had no existence in the Greek language; still less reason is there for endorsing those words with accents. It may be urged that, at least, such an arrangement has the merit of not departing from the original document; yet it must have required a large amount of editorial courage to print in the sacred text, *with accents*, such monstrosities as ἀπῆλθον, Mark iii, 13; ἔχοντες, Rev. v, 8; ἐχρῶν, Luke i, 74; πάρκτορι, Luke xii, 58; κεκληρόντι, Luke xiv, 12; μετοξὺ, Acts xiii, 42; οὐχεται, John v, 42. Surely, an editor who could be trusted to accentuate and point, might be allowed to emend, in his text, the mere blunders of the scribe, and to relegate the blunders themselves to the notes. Mr. Cowper has chosen the opposite course: it has, indeed, the merit of being faithful to the letter of the Codex; but why does he endorse with accents and breathings a collection of letters which, as a word, is a nonentity in the Greek language?

We have pointed out, with all frankness, what appear to us to be the defects in Mr. Cowper's edition of A. That it cannot be depended on as a perfectly accurate representation of the MS. has been shown in at least two instances. But we are well aware how extremely difficult it is to make a reprint which shall contain no errors; and it would be unfair not to admit the merits of the work. Mr. Cowper's edition is cheap, portable, readable; his notes are easily referred to, being numbered and placed at the bottom of the page; and they have the great merit of not being too long. To the generality of readers the text of A. has hitherto been accessible only through the medium of the *Variae lectiones* given in critical editions of the New Testament: and every student is aware how difficult it is to gather the general character of the text from such disjointed evidence. By the help of Mr. Cowper's edition, a whole chapter, or an entire book, of the New Testament, as it stands in one of our oldest MSS., can now be read continuous-

ly, and the general spirit of the document can be caught before it has evaporated in the Lachmanian or Tischendorfian crucible. If Mr. Cowper's edition is not so accurate as it might be, it nevertheless enables the student to approximate pretty nearly to the truth; and the very things which are blemishes in the eyes of a scholar help to exhibit the character of the document where they occur.

The Readings in the Codex Alexandrinus are so well known, that we need not specify them in detail here. Our readers are, of course, aware that the MS. contains Mark xvi, 9-20 and John v, 4. The leaves where John viii, 1-11 occurs have been lost; yet it has been ascertained, from counting the number of lines, that the passage from vii, 53 to viii, 11 was *not* in the MS. Acts viii, 37 is wanting. In Acts xx, 28, we read *την εκκλησιαν του κυριου*. 1 John v, 7 is, of course, wanting.

In conclusion, we may perhaps be allowed to say a few words on 1 Tim. iii, 16. Mr. Cowper here puts *Θεός* in the text. His note is as follows:

"Nunc legitur *Θς* sed m. recens lineam supra *Θς* crassavit. Quid olim valde obscurum: nobis tenebræ sunt. Locum sæpe inspeximus, sed fugit aciem veritas."

In his introduction, he says (p. xvii.):

"The *Θ* consists of a circle tolerably well defined, and by the original scribe; but the transverse is only what may be called a mere shadow, as if a pen almost dry had touched it, and that recently."

Now, the transverse line that first meets the eye is a short, black, thick stroke, evidently by a later hand. Of this, Mr. Cowper makes no definite mention. The real question is, whether there was a transverse line by the first hand, underlying this thicker stroke (Professor Ellicott calls it "a rude dot") by the second hand. The examination by professor Ellicott, described in a note appended to his edition of 1 Tim. (p. 100) certainly did appear to us to have set the question at rest. We quote his words below.*

* "The results of my examination of the Codex Alexandrinus may be thus briefly stated. On inspecting the disputed word, there appeared (a) a coarse line over, and a rude dot within, the O, in *black* ink; (b) a faint line across O in ink of

The following is the result of our own inspection: The mark of contraction over the \overline{OC} is clearly by a later hand; so also is a small black line put in the middle of the Θ , not running diametrically across. In the very same column, thirteen lines lower, may be seen the sacred name (nominative case) in the contracted form, by the first hand; and in this instance, the transverse line runs diametrically across— \ominus . At the back of the O, in 1 Tim. iii, 16, is the first letter in the word $\epsilon\gamma\kappa\epsilon\beta\epsilon\iota\alpha\iota\alpha\iota$. When the leaf is held up to the light, and looked at from the OC side, the transverse line, or sagitta, of the reversed Θ is distinctly seen running across the O; and it was certainly our impression, after looking for some time, that there was no other line running transversely across the O. We concluded that what might have been thought to be the original transverse line, and which distinguishes the Θ from the O, was simply the mark from the ϵ on the other side.

There is a peculiarity to be remarked in the sagitta of the ϵ : it ends in a slightly upturned bulb. This little upturned bulb is distinctly visible on its own side, and is, as we have been told, also visible on the obverse side with a strong light. The morning, however, was not light enough for us to verify this. But if it can be made out that the faint line running across

the same color as the adjacent letters. It was clear that (a) had no claim on attention, except as being possibly a rude retouching of (b); the latter demanded careful examination. After inspection with a strong lens, it seemed more than probable that Wetstein's opinion (Prolegom. vol. i, p. 22) was correct. Careful measurements showed that the first ϵ of $\epsilon\gamma\kappa\epsilon\beta\epsilon\iota\alpha\iota\alpha\iota$, ch. vi, 3, on the other side of the page, was exactly opposite, the circular portion of the two letters nearly exactly coinciding, and the thickened extremity of the sagitta of ϵ being behind what had seemed a ragged portion of the left-hand inner edge of O. It remained only to prove the identity of this sagitta with the seeming line across O. This, with the kind assistance of Mr. Hamilton, of the British Museum, was thus effected. While one of us held up the page to the light, and viewed the O through the lens, the other brought the point of an instrument (without, of course, touching the MS.) so near to the extremity of the sagitta of the ϵ as to make a point of shade visible to the observer on the other side. When the point of the instrument was drawn over the sagitta of ϵ , the point of shade was seen to exactly trace out the suspected diameter of the O. It would thus seem certain that (b) is no part of O, and that the reading of A. is certainly $\delta\zeta$.—*Ellicott, Past. Epistles*, p. 100.

the O is a \cup , not a $—$, then clearly it must be the sagitta of the \odot on the obverse side.*

An instance of an epsilon sagitta, turning what was meant to be an O into an apparent Θ , may be found in this very MS., Mark iii, 13 (Section $\begin{smallmatrix} K\Theta \\ B \end{smallmatrix}$). Here the first hand wrote $\text{ΑΙΗΑΘ}\odot\text{Ν}$. The second hand completed the circle of the \odot , meaning to correct the word into ΑΙΗΑΘΟΝ . But the sagitta of the \odot remaining, the text exhibits ΑΙΗΑΘΘΝ .

Further, let it be considered that in that one column where the disputed reading occurs, there are five other instances where the sacred name is found, written (as usual) in the abbreviated form. Some more instances occur in the other three columns which make up the two open pages. We ask, Is there, in any one of these instances, a doubt that the transverse line in the Θ , and the superwritten line of the $\overline{\Theta\odot}$, were by the *prima manus*? In each case, in that very column, the Θ is perfectly clear.† If, then, in the disputed passage, the *prima manus* had written Θ , why should not that have remained as clear as the other instances in the same column are to this hour? Why should the second hand have retouched the Θ in this case, and in this case only? Is it at all likely that $\Theta\odot$ would have been altered into $\text{Ο}\odot$? Is it not much more likely that $\text{Ο}\odot$ should be altered into $\Theta\odot$, especially if the faint shadow mark from the obverse \odot gave an idea that the O was meant for Θ ? That the $\text{Ο}\odot$ was likely to be altered into $\overline{\Theta\odot}$ does not rest on mere conjecture. In the Ephraem rescript, the probability is that the first hand wrote $\text{Ο}\odot$. At all events, it is certain that the present transverse line, which makes the O into a Θ , was put in by the third hand, whose country was Constantinople, whose date is the ninth century.

* That letters are faintly traceable on the obverse side, through the parchment, may be seen in a beautiful photograph of a few lines of the Vatican MS. belonging to the Rev. J. W. Burgon, Fellow of Oriel College, and most kindly lent us by him on more than one occasion. Our readers will, of course, remember his interesting letters in the *Guardian* newspaper. In this specimen we have traced (reading of course from right to left) in John xxi, 18, $\text{ΝΑΤΟ } \odot \Delta \Lambda \odot \Theta$: in 19, ΟΤΥΟΤ : and $\text{ΩΤΑΝΑ}\Theta\Omega\text{ΙΟΗ}$.

† In the disputed passage Woide prints Θ : in the other instances Θ .

Again, in the Codex Sinaiticus, the first hand wrote OC, on which reading Professor Tischendorf notes :

"Corrector aliquis, qui omnium ultimus textum attigit sæculi fere duodecimi, reposuit Θεος, sed hoc tam caute fecit, ut antiquissimam scripturam intactam relinqueret."

We have therefore fair ground for inferring that the Codex Alexandrinus fared like its brethren, the Codex Sinaiticus and the Codex Ephraemi rescriptus. The original reading was OC. Later correctors, sensible of the difficulty of the reading, removed the difficulty by altering the word.

With regard to the general character of the text, it may suffice, on the present occasion, to say, that, in the Gospels, Scholz considers the text of A. to agree mainly with the Alexandrine family of MSS. In the rest of the New Testament he calls it *κορυφαῖος*. Dr. Tregelles thinks that A. "in many respects, holds a middle place" between the Alexandrine and the Constantinopolitan families in the Gospels.

As reference has been made to the ancient divisions of the books of the New Testament, we subjoin a short account of them.

Ammonius of Alexandria divided each Gospel into consecutive sections, with a view of enabling the reader to refer to parallel passages : of these there are in Mt. 355, Mk. 233, L. 342, J. 232.

This division was made towards the end of the third century.

In the early part of the fourth century, *Eusebius* (d. 340), Bishop of Cæsarea, classified these sections in ten tables, called the "Canons of Eusebius."

These sections were generally adopted by the MSS. from about the middle of the fourth century, being (sometimes with the canons sometimes without) placed at the margin.

At a later period (*postero tempore*, Scholz), the Gospels were divided into longer sections, called *κεφάλαια* or *τίτλοι*. Of these there are in Mt. 68, Mk. 48, L. 83, J. 18. In A. they are prefixed to the Gospels, and are also given at the top of the page.*

* A list of them is appended to the second part (recently issued) of Dr. Tregelles' edition of the New Testament.

It is uncertain who was the author of the division of the Pauline epistles: of these there are in Rom. 19, 1 C. 9, 2 C. 11, G. 12, E. 10, P. 7, C. 10, 1 Th. 7, 2 Th. 6, H. 21, 1 T. 18, 2 T. 9, Tit. 6, Philem. 2.

These sections are, however, known by the name of *Euthalian*, as Euthalius, deacon of Alexandria, afterwards Bishop of Sulca, seems to be the first who published them (A.D. 458). And he afterwards (about A.D. 490) put forth a divided edition for the Acts and Cath. Epp. Of these there are in Acts 40, Jam. 6, 1 P. 8, 2 P. 4, 1 Jo. 7, 2 Jo. 1, 3 Jo. 1, Jude 4.

These divisions seem to have existed before; the division of Acts being attributed to Pamphilus Martyr.

The Apocalypse was divided into twenty-four *λόγοι* and into seventy-two *κεφάλαια*; the work is attributed to *Andreas* of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia, "seculo quinto ad finem vugente." The *λόγοι* answered to the Euthalian divisions.

It does not seem quite clearly ascertained when the practice of larger initial letters commenced: they are not in the Codex Vaticanus, the Codex Sinaiticus, or the fragments of the Octateuch at Paris, Leyden, and S. Petersburg: but they may be seen in a fragment of Dioscorides at Vienna, to which the date assigned in Silvestre is A.D. 375. They are found in the Codex Alexandrinus and in the Ephraem rescript. In A. the Psalms, the fourteen appended hymns, the books of Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Song, the Wisdom of Solomon, the Wisdom of Jesus son of Sirach, are written stichometrically. A similar arrangement is found in the Codex Sinaiticus, with regard to these which have been called the *βιβλοι στιχηραί*.

ART. VIII.—THE ANTE-NICENE TRINITARIANISM.

By Prof. ROSWELL D. HITCHCOCK.

The Church of the First Three Centuries : or, Notices of the Lives and Opinions of some of the Early Fathers, with Special Reference to the Doctrine of the Trinity ; illustrating its late Origin and gradual Formation. By ALVAN LAMSON, D.D. Boston: Walker, Wise & Co., 245 Washington street. 1860. 8vo. Pp. 352.

[Continued from page 177.]

IN a previous article we undertook to show, in the first place, that the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, as developed during the first three centuries, could not have been derived from any Pagan philosophy ; and, in the second place, that there was a recognised and legitimate basis for this development in the Scriptures.

III. It now remains for us to show that the Ante-Nicene Fathers, in general, were essentially Trinitarians ; entertaining opinions, the only complete and logically consistent development of which was the Nicene Creed.

First in order, of course, are the Apostolic Fathers, passed in silence by Dr. Lamson, but of the greatest importance as witnesses, whether regard be had to the character of the men themselves, or to the place they hold in history. As for the men themselves, they were manifestly no philosophers, intent upon the construction of a scientific system of theology ; on the contrary, they were eminently practical and simple-minded believers, not at all given to speculation, and, with the single exception of the unknown author of the Epistle to Diognetus, making no very decided impression upon us even of native intellectual breadth and vigor. As for their place in history, they stand midway between the Apostles on one side,

and the converted philosophers of the second century on the other; inspiration, whose oral teachings some of them at least had enjoyed, having just ceased, and speculation having not yet begun. Such men, so conditioned, it can hardly need be said, must be the very best of witnesses, where the question is simply one of fact in regard to the faith of the early Church.

The earliest of these witnesses is Clement, a Greek, chief Presbyter, afterwards called Bishop, of Rome between 91?–100? A.D.* We have from his pen, in fifty-nine short chapters, an Epistle to the Corinthians, written probably about the year 96. The authenticity of this document is well established; while as to its integrity, the only probable interpolations have reference not to doctrine but polity. The occasion of writing was a dissension in the Church at Corinth, by which certain Presbyters had been unjustly deposed from office. An appeal having been made to the Church in Rome, Clement, after some delay, sent this Epistle, in which he tried by mingled reproofs and exhortations to bring back the Corinthian Christians to brotherly love and unity. Schism, and not heresy, having thus occasioned the Epistle, we need not wonder at the meagreness of its doctrinal contents; especially when we consider that the writer of it was not the inspired Apostle Paul, but only the uninspired Apostolic Clement. And yet, though there be much less than the Pauline proportion of doctrinal matter in this Epistle, what there is of doctrine incidentally introduced falls but little below the Pauline standard of orthodoxy. Special prominence is given to the doctrine of the Resurrection; although the handling of it is disfigured by the employment of the Pagan fable of the Phoenix. Justification by faith is set forth very much in the Pauline style; as, indeed, Clement and Polycarp alone of the Apostolic Fathers do thus set it forth. The Trinitarianism of Clement is as clearly pronounced as need be, considering the circumstances of the case. In the 2d chapter of the Epistle, he speaks of the sufferings of Christ as the sufferings of "God" (τοῦ Θεοῦ), who is the source of all spiritual strength and comfort. In

* The conjectural date of Jaffé in his *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*. Berlin. 1851.

the 16th chapter, Christ is called "the sceptre of the majesty of God," who came not in pomp and splendor, as he might have done, but in humility. In the 22d chapter, a passage from the Psalms (Ps. 34 : 11-18) is cited as the language of Christ himself, speaking through the Holy Spirit. In the 32d chapter, Christ is spoken of as descended from Abraham "according to the flesh;" in evident allusion to Rom. 9 : 5, where the same phrase occurs with the addition of "God blessed forever." In the 36th chapter Christ is called "the effulgence of the majesty" of God; as in Heb. 1 : 3 he is called the effulgence of his "glory." The underlying idea in these representations is evidently the old Hebrew idea of the Revealer of the unrevealed Jehovah. This Revealer is Christ, superior to angels, the inspirer of the ancient Prophets, the sanctifier of believers, nay, God himself. In two at least of the passages, the idea clearly is, that the relationship between the Father and the Son is immanent, and not merely economic. As to the Holy Spirit, while a distinct personality is not positively affirmed, it is certainly adumbrated. There are some six passages in all, the greater part of which have reference to the Holy Spirit as the source of inspiration in the Scriptures.* For example, in the 13th chapter, Clement writes, "For the Holy *Spirit* says," quoting Jer. 9 : 23, 24; and again, in the same chapter, he writes, "For the Holy *Logos* says," quoting Is. 66 : 2. So also in the 8th chapter, Noah and Jonah are represented as having spoken "by the Holy Spirit," while God himself (ὁ δεσπότης τῶν πάντων) is represented as speaking in Ez. 33 : 11. We have thus the elements of the doctrine of the Trinity. And in two passages† something more than the elements; as in the 46th chapter, where we read: "Have we not one God (ὅνα θεόν), and one Christ, and one Spirit of grace poured out upon us?" That Clement's ideas were as well matured, and as sharply defined, as those of Athanasius, we do not pretend to say, or to imagine. It is enough for our purpose that he calls Christ God, speaks of Jehovah, the Logos, and the Holy Spirit as inspiring Pro-

* See chapters 2, 8, 13, 16, 42, and 45.

† Chapters 42 and 46.

phets and Apostles, and represents the Three as in some sort One.

Our next witness is Ignatius of Antioch, who suffered martyrdom in Rome, according to some writers in 107, according to others in 116 A.D. ;* more probably the latter. Unfortunately, the long-drawn Ignatian controversy is not yet ended. The more prevalent opinion is, that the seven Epistles, as we have them in the shorter Greek recension, first published by Usher in 1644, are genuine. Cureton, Bunsen, and others accept only three of these Epistles (to Polycarp, to the Ephesians, and to the Romans) in the still shorter Syriac recension. Dr. Killen, of Belfast, Ireland, in his recent History of the Ancient Church (1859), has made an elaborate and determined effort to prove the entire collection spurious. The end we now have in view requires no settlement of this vexed question. In any case, whether genuine or not, in whole or only in part, it is admitted that these Epistles all belong to the Ante-Nicene period ; the three already named having been known to Origen as early at least as 223 A.D., and all of them (including the other four to the Magnesians, the Trallians, the Philadelphians, and the Smyrnaeans) known to Eusebius when he wrote his History about 325 A.D. Consequently, if there be Trinitarianism in the three Epistles of the Syriac recension, even though not Ignatian, it is as old at least as the early part of the third century ; if Ignatian, as Cureton believes, it is older still by about a hundred years. While if there be more Trinitarianism in the Greek seven Epistles than in the Syriac three, it will be found that the difference between them is only in degree and not in kind. Even in the three Syriac Epistles there are at least five passages, which indicate a decided Trinitarianism. In the Epistle to Polycarp we find it written : " Expect him who is above time (*ὑπὲρ καιρὸν*), who is timeless (*ἄχρονον*), who is invisible, who for our sakes became visible, who cannot be handled, who is impassible, who for our

* These are the extreme dates, unless we allow some weight to the new "Martyrdom of Ignatius," recently edited by Dressel, which gives 102. A.D. Greswell's date is 115.

sakes became passible, who for us endured every thing in every form." In the inscription to the Ephesian Epistle, Jesus Christ is called "our God" (τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν); and in the body of the Epistle, even his blood is spoken of as "the blood of God" (ἐν αἵματι Θεοῦ). In the same Epistle, the Church is described as the building of God the Father, the stones of which are raised up on high by the engine of Jesus Christ which is the Cross, the rope by which they are drawn being the Holy Ghost. In the Epistle to the Romans, prayer to Christ is enjoined: "Entreat the Lord for me (λιτανεύσατε τὸν Κύριον ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ), that through these instruments I may be found a sacrifice to God." * So much for the Syriac recension. In the shorter Greek recension of the seven Epistles, there are some fourteen passages of kindred import, speaking of Christ as God, of his sufferings as the sufferings of God, of his pre-existence "with the Father before the worlds" (πρὸ αἰώνων παρὰ πατρί), describing him as "God manifested humanly" (Θεοῦ ἀνθρωπίνως φανερομένου), with the other like expressions, which, if not necessarily implying the absolute Divinity of Christ, Divinity in the highest sense, are certainly best explained by supposing this to have been the writer's thought. One passage, in the 8th chapter of the Epistle to the Magnesians, reads as follows: "For the divinest Prophets have lived according to Jesus Christ. On this account they suffered persecution, inspired by his grace, that those who were unbelieving might be assured that there is one God, who has manifested himself through his Son Jesus Christ, who is his Eternal Word (Λόγος αἰδίου), not proceeding from silence,† who in all things pleased him that sent him." The subordination of the Son to the Father is, in the 13th chapter of the Epistle to the Magnesians, expressly declared to be "according to the flesh." Finally, in the account of his martyrdom, which has come down to us, it is related of Ignatius, that just before entering

* In the Greek recension, the reading is *λιτανεύσατε τὸν Χριστὸν*.

† The *αἰγή*, not of Valentinus, which would disprove the Ignatian authorship of the passage, but of Simon Magus: See Hippolytus, Phil. 6 : 18, Duncker and Schneidewin's Ed. p. 250. The "not proceeding from silence," means that Christ is *eternal*.

the amphitheatre to be devoured by wild beasts, he kneeled down with the brethren and "prayed to the Son of God."* Whom he thus worshipped he must surely have regarded as Divine in the highest sense, else he was guilty of idolatry.

Next in order is Polycarp of Smyrna, a disciple of the Apostle John, who suffered martyrdom, probably, in the year 167.† His Epistle to the Philippians, in 14 chapters, hortatory in its character, appears (from the 13th chapter) to have been written shortly after the martyrdom of his friend Ignatius, 116 A.D. In the 2d chapter of this Epistle, he speaks in exalted terms of Christ as the Being, to whom all things in heaven and on earth are subject, and whom every spirit serves. In the 7th chapter, he denounces the Gnostic Docetism as a Satanic heresy. And in the 12th chapter, he speaks of Christ as "the eternal high priest" and Son of God. His dying prayer, as reported by the Smyrnaean Church, concluded thus: "Wherefore for all things I praise thee, I bless thee, I glorify thee with the eternal and heavenly Jesus Christ, thy beloved Son; with whom (*μεθ' οὗ*) to thee and the Holy Spirit be glory both now and forever. Amen."‡ Eusebius (4: 15), it is true, gives this doxology in a different form: *δι' οὗ, through whom*, instead of *μεθ' οὗ, with whom*; but, as Burton has shown, both these forms were originally in use amongst the orthodox, and were regarded as equally proper till after the Council of Nice. Subordinationism certainly had no foothold amongst the Smyrnaeans, if we may judge from their own doxology, with which the *Martyrium* concludes: "To whom be glory, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, world without end. Amen."§

The so-called Epistle of Barnabas is no doubt spurious, the work, not of the Apostolic Barnabas, but of some Jewish Christian of Alexandria, assuming his name. The date of its

* *Martyrium S. Ignatii*, chap. 6.

† The earliest date is that of Pearson, 147; the latest, that of Usher, 169. As to his age at the time of his death, it is a question whether the 86 years, which he speaks of, refer to his whole life, or only to the period of his Christian discipleship.

‡ *Martyrium S. Polycarpi*, chap. 14.

§ *Ibid*, chap. 22.

composition is put by Hefele between the years 107 and 120 A.D. This Epistle contains no Trinitarian doxology; but the essential Divinity of Christ, which necessarily involves the Trinitarian conception, is very clearly presented. "Let us make man in our image and likeness," Gen. 1 : 26, is twice quoted (chapters 5th and 6th), and applied to Christ. The correctness of this exegesis is, of course, not now in question. Right or wrong, it equally serves our present purpose in elucidating the doctrinal position of the writer of the Epistle. In his opinion, Christ preëxisted with the Father, and they two took counsel together in the work of creation. In the 5th chapter it is declared, that Christ himself inspired the Prophets who prophesied concerning him; and the sun is said to be the work of his hands. In the 7th chapter it is written: "If therefore the Son of God, who is Lord of all, and will come to judge both the quick and the dead, hath suffered, that by his stripes we might live, let us believe that the Son of God *could not have suffered* (οὐκ ἠδύνατο παθεῖν) *but for us.*" And in the 12th chapter: "Behold again, Jesus is not the son of man, but the Son of God, manifested in form and flesh" (τύπῳ καὶ ἐν σαρκὶ φανερωθείς).

But by much the ablest and most finished production of this early period, is the Epistle to Diognetus, by some unknown author of an uncertain date. Bunsen, with little reason, ascribes it to the Gnostic Marcion, and supposes it to have been written about the year 135. Otto has recently returned to the ancient but almost universally abandoned opinion, that Justin Martyr wrote it. Dorner ascribes it to Quadratus the Apologist. Most critics are content to label it as anonymous. As to the date of it, Hefele suggests the time of Trajan (98-117 A.D.); others, with more probability, the time of Hadrian (117-138. A.D.) Schaff is quite right in pronouncing this Epistle "one of the most beautiful memorials of Christian antiquity." Apologetic in character, rich in thought, elegant in style, it presents us with a most engaging picture of the Christian life of the period, to which it belongs. The declared object of the writer was, to explain the genius of Christianity as compared both with the Pagan religions and with Judaism. Of

course it was required of him to say who Christ was. God "sent Him," he says, "not (as we might suppose) as a servant, or as an angel, or as a ruler, or as one engaged in earthly affairs, or as one entrusted with the care of things in Heaven; but God sent the very artificer and creator of the universe—Him, by whom he made the heavens, by whom he inclosed the sea within its due bounds; Him, whose mysterious laws are faithfully kept by all the starry signs; Him, from whom the sun hath received the measures of his daily course, duly to keep them; Him, at whose command the moon shineth in the night; Him, whom the stars obey as they follow the moon in her course; Him by whom all things have been set in order and defined and placed in subjection, the heavens and the things that are in the heavens, the earth and the things that are in the earth, the sea and every thing that is in the sea, fire, air, deep, things above, things below, things between. This is He whom God sent unto, them."* Here, certainly, is no merely incidental, no unguarded or ambiguous, but a most direct, well-considered, and elaborate assertion of the essential Divinity of Christ; a being to be worshipped with as profound a reverence as we render to God the Father.

The Pastor of Hermas is also of uncertain date, but is supposed to have been written not far from 150 A.D. In form, this work is somewhat fantastic, consisting of 4 Visions, 12 Mandates and 10 Similitudes. As to its contents, it is well described by Hase as "a strenuous exhortation to morality, enforced by the prospect of the second advent of Christ." Its doctrinal errors are mainly in the direction of an ascetic formalism. In regard to the Person of Christ, the most decisive and satisfactory passage is Similitude 9 : 12, where it is said, that "The Son of God is more ancient than any created thing, so that he was present in counsel with his Father at the creation." In Similitude 9 : 14, it is said: "The name of the Son of God is great and vast, and the whole world is supported by it." An obscure and much debated passage occurs in Simili-

* Bunsen's Hippolytus, vol. 1, p. 178.

tude 5 : 5, which reads : "His Son is the Holy Spirit." This apparent confounding of the Son with the Spirit, Hefele thinks, may be explained by supposing that only the human nature of Christ is here referred to. At any rate, it must not be so interpreted as to militate against the obvious import of other and clearer passages. The mystical character of the treatise should certainly bespeak for it the utmost charity of criticism.

The seventh, last and least important of these Apostolic Fathers, is Papias the Millennarian, of Hierapolis in Phrygia, a man of some learning but of feeble judgment, who is supposed to have suffered martyrdom about 165-7 A.D. He wrote a work, entitled, "Explanations of the Lord's Discourses," only a few fragments of which are extant. Precisely what his views were in regard to the Person of Christ, not enough remains of his writings to enable us to determine. There is, however, a recognition of the Trinitarian formula in one of the fragments preserved by Irenæus.*

With such testimonies before us, gathered from the writings of such men, representing the simple faith of the Church near the close of the first century and in the early part of the second, we wonder that any man should speak of Trinitarianism as an invention of the Platonizing Fathers. If Clement Ignatius, Polycarp and the author of the Epistle to Diognetus were not Trinitarians, we may well despair of finding Trinitarians anywhere in history. Though not theologians in the stricter sense of the term, these men must have had opinions; and, of all subjects engaging their attention, the one which most concerned them as Christians, must have been the Person of their Lord. Such love as theirs, firing them even to martyrdom, must needs have defined more or less exactly the nature of its object. And so in fact it did. Christ was to these ardent disciples both man and God. His Humanity they maintained against Docetism, without debating the question, subsequently mooted, whether or no he had a proper human soul as well as a human body. But his Divinity was what they felt the most deeply, and the most earnestly affirmed.

* See Routh's *Reliquiae Sacrae*, 2d Ed., Vol. 1, p. 11.

They even went so far in this direction, as to assert of Christ's Divine nature what was true only of the Human ; not hesitating to speak of his sufferings and blood, as the sufferings and blood of God. If Christ be not Divine in the highest sense, then these men were idolaters, for they certainly worshipped the Son even as they worshipped the Father. It was natural that, at first, less prominence should be given to the Person of the Spirit. That the Spirit was not ignored, is evident from the many passages, in which He is spoken of as the inspirer of the ancient prophets. While the Trinitarian doxology, so frequently employed, stands forth, decisively witnessing for these early Fathers, as believers in one God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

From the Apostolic Fathers the transition is easy to Irenæus. He comes next after them in logical, though not in chronological order. Of Greek parentage, though born in Asia Minor, and probably in Smyrna, where he sat at the feet of Polycarp, the scene of his labors was in the West. After the martyrdom of Pothinus, whom he had either accompanied or followed into Gaul, Irenæus in 178 became Bishop of Lyons, where he also is supposed to have suffered martyrdom in 202.* His principal work, the *Adversus Haereses*, in five books, was composed, as we learn from the work itself (*Adv. Haer.* 3 : 3 : 3), during the Pontificate of Eleutherus (177-190 ?), or more exactly, according to Harvey, between the years 182 and 188.† This, it is true, was later by some years than the death of Justin Martyr,‡ the most prominent of the Platonizing Apologists ; which, however, is of no account in the present discussion, since Irenæus stood quite aloof from the speculative movement in theology, which these men inaugurated. The author of the *Adversus Haereses* was indeed a man of learning, familiar especially with the works of Homer and Plato ; but the type of his theology was distinctively Biblical and practical, rather than philosophical. Left to himself, he would

* This is the common opinion, though disputed anew by Harvey in his recent (1857) edition of the writings of Irenæus.

† Harvey's *Introduction*, p. 158.

‡ According to Otto, 165 ; according to Semisch, 166 A.D.

hardly have gone beyond the range of the Apostolic Fathers. But falling upon different times, a different development awaited him. It was required of him to maintain the traditional orthodoxy in the face of antagonisms unknown to his immediate predecessors and teachers. The confronting heresies which conditioned his doctrinal statements, were three: Gnosticism, Ebionism, and Montanism; but especially the first two. Ebionism had gradually become a heresy. In the time of Irenæus it was a sheer humanitarianism, denying that Christ was born of a Virgin, and regarding him as a mere man. Gnosticism had assumed a great variety of forms; but the various systems were nearly all agreed in teaching: (1.) That God is utterly incomprehensible. (2.) That matter is eternal and antagonistic to God.* (3.) That creation is the work, not of God, but of the Demiurge, according to some only subordinate, according to others totally opposed to God. (4.) That the human nature of Christ was a mere deceptive appearance. A work written avowedly to refute these well-defined heresies, has its general theological character indicated with no little clearness in advance. Christ, we know, is to be set before us as at once a man and more than a man. Precisely what rank is assigned to him, we must inquire of the work itself. Thus inquiring, we find the proper humanity of Christ vigorously maintained against the Docetists. This is done at large in the third book, where Christ is represented as the son of David, born miraculously of the Virgin Mary, but a man of real flesh and blood, suffering for our sins, dying and rising from the dead. Whether or no he had a human soul as well as a human body, does not so clearly appear. In one place (*Adv. Haer.* 5 : 1 : 3), it is said the Logos animated the body of Christ, as the soul animated the body of Adam. But in another place (5 : 1 : 1), Christ is spoken of as "giving his soul for our souls, and his flesh for our flesh."† The question here involved, it is well known, had not then been mooted. Had it been mooted, it is hardly to be imagined that Irenæus could

* Basilides, according to Hippolytus, must no longer be reckoned a Dualist. Most of the Gnostics were Dualists.

† In our citations from Irenæus, we follow Stieren's ed., Leipsic, 1853.

have been an Apollinarian. Against the Ebionites, on the other hand, it is maintained in the third book, with equal fullness and emphasis, that Christ is Divine. Repeatedly is he spoken of as "God," "the Word of God," "the Son of God," as "always existing with the Father," with other the like expressions, which carry with them the idea of Divinity in the highest sense. That the word *God* is not inconsiderately or loosely employed by Irenæus, is evident from several passages, such, for example, as *Adv. Haer.* 4:2:5, where it is said, "He who has any one superior to himself, and is under the power of another, can neither be called God nor Mighty King." "Word" and "Son" are used interchangeably in a multitude of passages.* This "Son of God" is without beginning, having always existed with the Father. Indeed, he is the one Revealer of God under all the economies, or, as Irenæus expresses it (4:6:6): "The Father is the invisible of the Son, the Son the visible of the Father."† The relation existing between the Father and the Son is expressed by several terms, such as *prolatio*, *generatio* and the like; but this generation is declared to be a mystery (*inenerrabilis*, indescribable, 2:28:6), known only to the Father who begat, and the Son who is begotten. The creation of matter is also a mystery, but different from generation (2:28:7). That less is said of the Son as he existed with the Father before his incarnation, than of the incarnate Logos, is entirely in accordance with the distinctively Biblical and practical character of the Irenæan theology already noticed. The plurality of persons is not allowed to militate against the unity of God, which is constantly affirmed. That the Son is in every respect equal to the Father, follows, of logical necessity, from the coëternity of the Son with the Father, so frequently and decisively declared. The coëternally begotten must of course be coëqual. This is sometimes explicitly asserted. And yet candor requires the acknowledgment, that there are other passages which savor of subordination. In distinguishing the

* Such as *Adv. Haer.* 2:30:9. 4:7:3. 4:20:3.

† The same idea is repeated *Adv. Haer.* 4:20:11.

persons in the Godhead, language is sometimes employed by Irenæus, as by others of the earlier Fathers, not consistent with strict Trinitarianism; as when in *Adv. Haer.* 2 : 28 : 8, the text, "My Father is greater than I" (John 14 : 28), is referred to the Eternal Word, and not to the historic Christ. But in such passages, Irenæus is equally inconsistent with himself. Duncker, in his monograph on Irenæus, declines attempting to resolve these contradictions. They must stand as they are. It is enough for our purpose, that while the coëquality is sometimes explicitly affirmed, the coëternity, which by a logical necessity involves the coëquality, is uniformly taught in terms which admit of no doubtful interpretation. As to the person of Christ, it is again and again expressly declared, as in *Adv. Haer.* 4 : 6 : 7, that he is at once "very man and very God." The Divinity of the Spirit is also clearly taught. In *Adv. Haer.* 4 : 7 : 4, the Spirit is called the *figuratio*, similitude, of God.* In *Adv. Haer.* 4 : 20 : 3 it is said, that as the Son was always with the Father, so the Spirit was with the Father and Son before the worlds were made. In several places, Gen 1 : 26 is cited as referring to the Father, the Son, and the Spirit. In other passages, some six or seven times in all, the Son and Spirit are called "the Hands of God," by which he accomplished the work of creation. These three all the angels serve (4 : 7 : 4). Passages which represent the Spirit as in any sense inferior to the Son, like those which represent the Son as inferior to the Father, are obviously inconsistent with such declarations as we have just quoted in regard to the coëternity of the Spirit with the Father and the Son. If coëternal, of course coëqual; as the ripening science of the Church presently discovered and declared. The Trinity, Irenæus says (3 : 18 : 3), is involved in the very name of Christ, which reminds us of the Anointer, the Anointed, and the Unction. The word Trinity, it is true, does not occur in this passage, nor in any other; but in many passages, which it would be tedious to refer to, the

* Harvey, in a note on this passage, quotes Basil as saying, that the Spirit is the likeness (*eikōn*) of the Son, as the Son is the likeness of the Father.

three persons are mentioned in a way to indicate their absolute and essential Divinity. In short, it is clear that Irenæus worshipped one God in three persons, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

Closely related to Irenæus stands Hippolytus, Bishop of Portus Romanus, who suffered martyrdom in 236 A.D. His most important work, the *Philosophumena*, the last seven books of which have been recently recovered and published, appears to have been composed between the years 223 and 235.* Once a pupil of Irenæus at Lyons, though by no means equal in ability to his teacher, he is like him in spirit and purpose, and should therefore be listened to, along with Irenæus, in advance of Justin Martyr and the Alexandrians; the chronological order, as already remarked, being of little or no account in a case like this. If the Trinitarianism of Hippolytus be less pure and strict than that of Irenæus, less free from the taint of subordination, it is explained by his polemic zeal against Patripassianism, which led him strongly to emphasize the hypostases. Indeed, so strong was this emphasis, as to provoke against him the charge of impugning the Divine Unity. This charge he repels, resenting as a venomous calumny the imputation cast upon him by Callistus, of being a worshipper of two Gods, in that he worshipped both the Father and the Son.† The 10th book of the *Philosophumena* concludes with a Confession of faith addressed to the Heathen. This confession affirms abundantly the essential Divinity of Christ, but is silent in regard to the Holy Spirit. Hence the assertion of some critics, that Hippolytus knew nothing of the distinct personality of the Spirit. This silence is easily accounted for. In the 9th book, Hippolytus was simply steering his way between two opposing heresies, one of which denied the Divinity of Christ, while the other denied his proper personality as the Word of God, distinct from the Father. He had thus no occasion to speak of the Holy Spirit; the Person of Christ being the only question under debate. In

* Jacobi, in Herzog's Encyklopädie, says about 234 A.D.

† *Philosophumena*, 9 : 12.

addressing the Heathen, as he does in the 10th book, his aim evidently is, not to develop the whole scheme of Christian doctrine, but simply to bring his Heathen readers to accept the salvation provided for them in the Gospel. A belief, so decided as that of Hippolytus, in the essential Divinity of Christ, must have been accompanied by an equally decided belief in the essential Divinity of the Holy Spirit; regard being had, of course, to the prevailing type of his theology as so distinctively Biblical and practical. We may therefore venture to claim Hippolytus as a Trinitarian, without appealing to those fragments ascribed to him (the genuineness of which has been disputed), in which the doctrine of the Trinity is expressly taught.*

[*To be concluded.*]

* See Wordsworth's "Hippolytus and the Church of Rome." London, 1853. Chapter 10, pp. 152-178.

Theological and Literary Intelligence.

THE *Oxford Essays and Reviews* continue to occupy the attention of England to the exclusion of almost every other theological subject. An address against them, signed by more than 8,500 of the clergy, has been presented the Archbishop of Canterbury. Some 20,000 copies of the work have been sold. At the meeting of Convocation, February 28, and March 14, this was the principal topic.

Soon after the Bishops had assembled in the Upper House on Thursday, March 14, the Prolocutor of the Lower House attended to present a gravamen, signed by twenty individual members, complaining that a book called *Essays and Reviews* had been published in London, containing teaching which was subversive of the inspiration and doctrine of Holy Scripture. The gravamen alleged that out of the seven writers of these *Essays and Reviews* six were clergymen of the Church of England. The members of the House who had signed the gravamen prayed that their Lordships would be pleased to direct the appointment of a committee of the Lower House to make extracts from the book alluded to, and to report thereon to their Lordships' House.

After a debate, in which the Bishop of Oxford moved to acquiesce in the petition, the Bishop of Chichester seconded this motion, and the Bishop of London expressed his dissent from it.

The Archbishop of Canterbury put the motion, when there appeared—

For (8)—The Bishops of Winchester, St. David's, Oxford, Bangor, Salisbury, Llandaff, St. Asaph, Chichester.

Against (4)—The Bishops of London, Bath and Wells, Gloucester and Bristol, Norwich.

The Committee thus appointed have chosen Archdeacon Denison as their Chairman, and were to meet at the close of the week, to examine the volume, for the purpose of reporting thereon to Convocation.

In the course of the debate, the Bishop of London (Tait) said, in respect to Drs. Temple and Jowett: "He was in the position of being the intimate personal friend of two of those clergymen whose names appeared in the volume. He would wish to say with regard to both of them, that from the personal friendship and the intercourse he had had with them during the last twenty years, he entertained for them the very liveliest regard, and in proportion as that regard and affection were strong the more he desired that an opportunity should be afforded to him of doing what he trusted they would do, which was to make a declaration which would be satisfactory to the church and to the country, that they were not responsible for every word that occurred in that unfortunate volume. He

rejoiced that, through circumstances over which they had no control, it would be impossible for the archbishops and bishops generally to meet for some time to come to consider this subject, because he most anxiously desired that that time should be employed by the gentlemen who had taken part in composing this book in endeavoring to vindicate themselves before the country in the only way they could vindicate themselves—namely, by an expression of their positive belief in the truths to which their book was not unnaturally supposed to be antagonistic. How some of those gentlemen would be able to do this he could not say. He should very much doubt the possibility of their being able to do so."

In respect to Dr. Temple he added: "that he most sincerely trusted that the interval which would elapse between the present time and the further consideration of the subject would enable Dr. Temple, the amiable headmaster of Rugby school, to make a public declaration of what he (the bishop) could have no doubt was his private feeling—namely, that he is deeply pained by many passages which occur in the volume with which his name was unfortunately associated. As he had said before, he had known the writer for many years in the intimacy of private friendship. He believed that the essay in the volume which bore his name was preached as a sermon from the pulpit of St. Mary's, Oxford. He very much disliked the views expressed in that essay, but the essay was totally different in his estimation from other passages which occurred in that volume, and he could not understand by what motive the author should be restrained from declaring publicly that he does not approve other things in that most unfortunate volume."

The Bishop of Oxford "hoped that nothing which would go forth from that room would lead to a misapprehension as to the opinions of the bishops on this subject. He was sure that every one must highly honor the affectionateness and courage of the Bishop of London when he spoke of his personal friends, but whose words he found himself bound to condemn. Perhaps that affectionateness of feeling might have led the bishop to express his judgment as to the writings of one of the authors. The truth of doctrine was dearer than all personal affection, and he thought his remarks ought not to go forth without an explanation. What he specially alluded to was this—the bishop had spoken as though it would satisfy the church if those who had put forth those doctrines would put forth some positive declaration as to their holding of the whole truth. Now he (the Bishop of Oxford) ventured to say that few things could be more disastrous than that it should be supposed that any of the bishops thought it would be the slightest removal of objection to this volume if the writers, one and all, made a most solemn asseveration of holding the truth. The more people asserted that they held all the truth, and yet put openly forward what denied that truth, was in his judgment incompatible with all true belief in our Lord and Saviour, and rendered it the more dangerous. The right reverend prelate having read several extracts from the essays, said the present was not the time to enter fully into the book. When a man came forward and said he revered the Bible and its truths, and then came forward and said that its writers were as liable to error as other men, that the prophecies written in that book manifestly failed of fulfillment, but that pious reverence has made us unwilling to admit their failures, he said the putting together of those two things made the second error more deadly, because it seemed to make it compatible with holding the truth. Therefore he was anxious that not by any such idle protestation, while the book itself remained unretracted, could the church be satisfied

of the fidelity of its writers. The form which the error was taking was that particular form which tended to sap all honesty of profession or subscription. It professed great personal affection for our Lord, and then it defended teaching which necessarily denied his incarnation, his miraculous conception, his resurrection in the presence of his disciples, the one all-sufficient sacrifice offered on the cross, and his atonement for the sins of the world. By inference the writers of the essays denied every one of these great truths, and yet professed to maintain the faith of the Church of England unshaken. He would rather that men came forward and said, 'Give up your old faith,' than that they should say, 'Keep the old faith, and still retain these monstrous perversions of it.' He thought that if the mistake went forth that in the opinion of the bishops assembled in convocation, these contradictions could be set right by the solemn adjurations of these writers not holding these doctrines, it would be a most fatal thing for the church. He was told that this book had been translated into French and other languages, in order that these doubts might be circulated abroad. He knew that an infidel lecturer in one of our great towns suspended his lecture, and said that instead of it he would read passages from the writings of clergymen of the Church of England as abundantly sufficient for his purpose. Nothing but an entire retraction on the part of the writers of the *Essays and Reviews* would satisfy the church."

The Archbishop of Canterbury said: "The petition which had led to the present discussion stated that the book of *Essays and Reviews* was full of dangerous doctrines. Nothing could express his own feeling more clearly. After what had been said, and after the expression of opinion on the part of the bishops in the document they had all signed, there could be no question as to what were their feelings on the subjects. Their only doubt would be in what way they should attempt to avert the dangerous consequences. The bishops thought, when they took the unusual course of giving their opinion on these essays, it was doubtful what power they might have to ensure their condemnation. It was doubtful also what would be the effect of any formal condemnation of them by convocation. Other measures had been pointed at, and were still under the gravest attention of the bishops. As the upper house of Convocation, they were not now quite at liberty to take action upon this subject. The bishops had fixed a day next month when they would meet the bishops of the northern province, and on that occasion they hoped to be able to decide in what manner the essays could be legally dealt with. The public would gather from this that the bishops of the Church of England were by no means insensible to the gravity of the occasion, and that they wished to meet it by the best means in their power."

The Rev. Dr. Temple has announced his intention of giving to the world forthwith a volume of sermons preached during the last three years in the chapel of Rugby school. This course of proceeding has evidently been adopted by the reverend gentleman with a view to show what are his opinions on the leading points of Christianity, as distinguished from the interpretations which have been put upon his essay, *The Education of the World*.

In addition to the movements in England against the *Essays and Reviews*, the bishops in Ireland are about to give expression to their reprehension of them. The Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin have addressed a joint letter to the bishops of their several dioceses, in which they pronounce it as their united opinion, that the views set forth in the work are manifestly at variance with the principles of the Church."

The Bishop of Winchester has taken strong ground against the neological Essayists. He frames his examination of candidates to meet most pointedly such errors, and declares that he will never knowingly ordain any one holding such sentiments.

An organisation of churchmen entitled "The Church of England Clerical and Lay Association for the Maintenance of Evangelical Principles," has put forth a strong Declaration and Protest against the book, in which it is proclaimed by the Association: "That, in our opinion it is the unquestionable tendency of the book as a whole, and the apparent object of some of the treatises contained in it, to undermine belief in all the most essential truths of religion, both natural and revealed, as they are generally received and understood. That in the treatises referred to, we find the most offensive statements both of a heretical and sceptical nature, either propounded by the authors themselves, or, when cited from others, represented, often very insidiously, as founded in reason and truth, and more worthy of credit than the matters of belief to which they are opposed.

The *Saturday Review* in its usual dashing style tries to account for all the commotion, by very low causes. It says: "We suspect that among the causes which have led to this disastrous crisis, the excessively narrow spirit in which the appointments to bishoprics have recently been made is not the least influential. When men such as the authors of *Essays and Reviews* see bishopric after bishopric filled by prelates of the very strictest sect of the Puritans, and Puritan tests for ordination virtually superadded to those by which the clergy are legally bound, they feel that they have no longer any sympathy or consideration to expect from the rulers of their Church; and, as the close and stifling barriers of sectarianism rise round them, they make convulsive efforts to recover air and liberty, and do things which would be unjustifiable under happier circumstances, but which derive some justification from despair. Those who have watched these affairs with an attentive eye observe effects which Prime Ministers, in disposing of their patronage for the benefit of a party, may easily overlook."

It was remarked, that of the five Professors of Divinity at Oxford and Cambridge, not one had written against the Essays. Dr. Pusey has since published the following letter, which we give entire from *The Guardian*.

"(To the Editor of the *Guardian*).—Sir,—A correspondent of yours mentions me with others (I know not whether excluding or including me), who are called upon by their position to answer the unhappy *Essays and Reviews*. The subject has been in the minds of many of us. The difficulty has arisen, not in providing definite answers to definite objections, but in giving systematic answers to a host of desultory attacks on revelation, its evidences, the Bible which contains it, and the truths revealed. The well-known passage in the unbelieving *Westminster Review* states the extent to which the truth has been attacked; it did not fall within its objects to notice the guerilla, pell-mell character of the attack. But look at the list:—

"Now in all seriousness we would ask, what is the practical issue of all this? Having made all these deductions from the popular belief, what remains as the residuum? In their ordinary, if not plain, sense, there has been discarded the word of God, the creation, the fall, the redemption, justification, regeneration, and salvation, miracles, inspiration, prophecy, heaven and hell, eternal punishment, a day of judgment, creeds, liturgies, and articles, the truth of Jewish history, and of Gospel narrative, a sense of doubt thrown over even the incarnation, the resurrection, and the ascension, the

divinity of the second person, and the personality of the third. It may be that this is a true view of Christianity, but we insist, in the name of common sense, that it is a new view.—(p. 305.)

"An attack may be made in a short space. If any one cannot rest on the authority of the universal church, attested as it is by prophecy, nor again, on the word of Jesus, he must take a long circuitous process of answer. But already, if books we must have, these would need to be books, not essays. What could be condensed into essays upon—1. Revelation; 2. Miracles; 3. Prophecy; 4. The Canon; 5. Inspiration; 6. Our Lord's Divinity and Atonement; 7. The Divinity and Offices of God the Holy Ghost? But beyond this, there is the miscellaneousness of their random dogmatic scepticism. The writers, in their own persons, rarely affirm any thing, attempt to prove nothing, and throw a doubt upon every thing. If any of us had dogmatized as to truth, as these do as to error, what scorn we should be held up to! They assume every thing, prove nothing. There is only here and there any thing definite to lay hold of. One must go back to the foreign sources of this unbelief, to find it in a definite shape, which one could answer. I have made a list of the subjects on which I should have to write on my own special subject, the interpretation of the Old Testament. Some indeed admit of a short answer, as when one says, that the title given by Isaiah to our Lord, 'Mighty God,' perhaps only means 'strong and mighty one,' or that Isaiah in the words, 'A virgin shall conceive and bear a son,' means 'a maiden's child, to be born in the reign of Ahaz,' or that 'kiss the son' (Psalm ii), should be rendered 'worship purely,' or that for the words 'They pierced my hands and my feet,' there should stand the senseless 'like a lion.' Apart from inspiration, no one could think that any human writer, who wished to be understood, would use the words *el gibbor* of Almighty God in one chapter ('the remnant shall return to Almighty God'), and in the chapter before us those self-same words of the child who was to be born, in another sense. The 'kiss' was a well-known sign of fealty to a king, or worship to an object of worship; but the Hebrew word for 'kiss' would no more mean 'worship' by itself than our English word. It could be shown in brief space that *Almah* means 'unmarried maiden' or virgin, and that the conception spoken of is beyond nature. Popularly it has been said, 'If Isaiah did not prophesy the birth of a virgin, the LXX. did.' It would take no great space to show that the rendering 'As a lion,' is unmeaning, without authority, against authority, while the rendering 'They pierced,' is borne out alike by authority and language. But these are but insulated points, easy to be defended, because attacked definitely. But when their range of attack extends from Genesis to Daniel, when one says that credible history begins with Abraham (Williams, 57); another, that there 'is little reliable history' before Jeroboam (Mr. Wilson, p. 170, of course, contradicting each other as to the period between Abraham and Jeroboam); another denies the accuracy of the Old Testament altogether according to our standards of accuracy (Professor Jowett, p. 347), asserting that 'like other records,' it was 'subject to the conditions of a knowledge which existed in an early stage of the world' (*Ib.* 411), that 'the dark mists of human passion and error form a partial crust upon it' (Wilson, p. 177), that the truth of the unity of God in scripture only gradually 'dispersed the mists of human passion in which it was itself enveloped' (Jowett, p. 286); when contradictions between the Kings and Chronicles are vaguely assumed (Wilson, 178, 9, Jowett, 342, 7); when it is asserted that prophecies of Jeremiah, Isaiah, Amos, failed (Jowett, p. 343); and implied that

God could not predict the deeds of one of his creatures by name (*Ib.*); that when Nahum prophesied there were human grounds to anticipate the destruction of Nineveh, which he prophesied (Williams, p. 60); or that Micah, in prophesying the birth at Bethlehem, meant only a deliverer in his own times (p. 68); that 'perhaps *one* passage in Zachariah and *one* in Isaiah (it is not said which) may be capable of *being made* directly Messianic' (Williams, p. 69); and that 'hardly any, probably none, of the quotations from the Psalms and prophets in the Epistles is based on the original sense or context' (Jowett, p. 406); when the genuineness of the Pentateuch (Williams, p. 60), of much of Isaiah (*Ib.* 68, Jowett, p. 313), Zechariah (Williams, p. 68), Daniel (lxix, lxxvi) is denied; when it is asserted that the aspects of truth in the book of Job or Ecclesiastes are opposite or imperfect (Jowett, p. 347), that actions are attributed to God in the Old Testament at variance with that higher revelation which he has given of himself in the Gospel (26); when Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac is attributed not to God, but to the 'fierce ritual of Syria' (Williams, p. 61), not to speak of the temptation in Paradise (p. 177), the miracle of Balaam's ass, the earth's standing still, 'the universality of the deluge, the confusion of tongues, the corporeal taking up of Elijah into heaven, the nature of angels, the reality of demoniacal possession, the personality of Satan, and the miraculous nature of many conversions' (Wilson, 177), or the book of Jonah (Williams, p. 73)—how can such an undigested heap of errors receive a systematic answer in brief space, or in any one treatise or volume? Or why should these be more answered than all the other attacks on the same subject with which the unbelieving press has been for some time teeming? People seem to have transferred the natural panic at finding that such attacks on belief could be made by those bound to maintain it, to the subjects themselves, as if the faith was jeopardized because it had been betrayed. With the exception of the still imperfect science of geology, the *Essays and Reviews* contain nothing with which those acquainted with the writings of unbelievers in Germany have not been familiar these thirty years. The genuineness of the books impugned, the prophecies, whose accomplishment in themselves, or in the Lord, is so summarily denied, have been solidly vindicated, not in essays, but in volumes. An observation on the comparative freedom and reasonableness of the 'conservatism of Hengstenberg' and Jahn (Williams, p. 67) is, I believe, the only indication, given in the volume, that much which the writers assume as proved, has been solidly disproved. Some volumes have, I believe, been already translated.

"But this circuitous process cannot be necessary to faith. God did not reveal himself to us for disputers. These answers may have their place; but there must be some briefer, directer road to faith. One of the essay writers owned that their system could never be the religion of the poor. Then it cannot be the true Gospel, which was for the poor. Those who believe our Lord's words, need no further proof as to the Old Testament. He has referred to it as of authority, and as speaking of himself. He has sealed to us the whole of the Old Testament, as, in all its divisions, speaking of himself (Luke xxiv. 44 add 27).

"It has been observed that he has authenticated to us just that class of facts in the Old Testament, which, to human reason, would seem most to need confirmation—Jonah in the fish's belly (Matt. xii. 40), the conversion of Nineveh (41), the flood (xxiv. 37–39; Luke xvii. 26, 27), the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (Matt. x. 15; xi. 23, 24; Luke xvii. 2, 8, 9), Lot's wife (32), God's appearing in the burning but unconsumed bush (Matt. xii. 26), the brazen serpent (John iii. 14), the manna (vi. 33), the

personality of Satan (Matt. iv. 10; xii. 26; Mark iii. 23-26; Luke iv. 8; xiii. 16; xxii. 31). Again, of that early history, which two of these writers throw a slur on, our Lord sets his seal on one birth of a single pair, according to the account in Genesis (Matt. xix. 4, 5), the death of Abel (xxiii. 35), the flood (as I said), the history of circumcision (Luke vii. 22, 23). Then, again, as to prophecy, it is our Lord himself who quotes Daniel (Matt. xxiv. 15; Mark viii. 14); the denied chapters of Isaiah, as Scripture (Matt. xi. 13; Luke iv. 17, 18; xviii. 31-33; John vi. 45), Zachariah (Mark xiv. 27). He alleges the prophecies of the Old Testament in the way which this school condemns (Matt. xiii. 14, 15; xxi. 42; Mark vii. 6), and one of those which have been called 'imprecatory Psalms' (John xvii. 1, 2). The principle of this argument is not confined to the Old Testament. It includes equally the reality of demoniacal possessions (Mark v. 8; vii. 29; ix. 25, 29; xvi. 17) and eternal punishment.

"*The Westminster Review* calls it a 'dangerous assumption that the Old Testament is a part of Christianity.' Not in the eyes of the reviewer, who unhappily believes neither. Our Lord has bound them together for his disciples, and however it may be charitable or right to meet in any other way the perplexities which people make for themselves or others, there must be some more compendious way for the mass of mankind. Life is not given for proving revelation to one's-self, but for belief, love, worship, duty.

"I have written at this length because there seems to be a feverish anxiety in some minds that answers should be written to these essays. Answers have, in fact, been written to very many of the attacks, by Tholuck, Hengstenberg, Keil, Hävernicks, and others. Answers will doubtless be written in this country. Some of the objections are as old as Celsus and Porphyry. The Church has survived these early attacks these one thousand six hundred years, and will to the end. For myself, I am convinced that the Bible is its own best defence; that the Holy Ghost, by whose inspiration it was written, speaks through it still to hearts prepared by his grace to hear; and while I trust, during any residue of my years which God may appoint me, to do what in me lies to develope, by his help, some of the meaning of his Word, removing as he shall enable me, men's self-made difficulties, or pointing out the completion of prophecy, my conviction is, that the difficulties lie, not in Holy Scripture itself, but in the dispositions with which men approach it.

"*Christ Church.*

E. B. PUSEY."

Among the works and articles called forth by this controversy, are the following: Lord Lindsay, *Scepticism, its Retrogressive Character in Theology and Philosophy*, with especial reference to the New Movement in Oxford.—Rev. Chs. Hebert, *Neology not True, and Truth not New*.—A new edition of *The Dangers and Safeguards of Modern Theology*, by the Bishop of London (Tait).—A new Reformation Society has been formed, sympathising with the Oxford essayists: and a tract (No. 1) published, written by Alexander Alison (author of a recent rationalising *Philosophy of Civilisation*), containing the creed of the new movement.—Rev. Geo. J. Weld, in a "Brief Defence of the Essays," shows that similar views have been expressed by divines of the Church of England.—A counter work is in preparation, by Dr. Thomson of Queen's College, Oxford, Prof. Ellicott, the commentator, Mansel and Rawlinson, the late Bampton Lecturers.—J. L. Wheeler, *Some Notices of Baden Powell's Essay on the Study of the Evidences*, Oxford.—Some friends of Prof. Jowett have collected *Statements of Christian Doctrine and Practice*, extracted from his various works,

as an answer to the charges brought against him by the reviewers (this work is ascribed chiefly to Prof. Stanley).—Rev. Chs. Girdlestone, *Negative Theology, an Argument for Liturgical Revision*.—J. R. Young, *The Mosaic Cosmogony*, in reply to Goodwin's Essay.—“*Essays and Reviews*” anticipated: Extracts from a work published in 1825, and attributed to the Lord Bishop of St. David's (Thirlwall).—Dr. Jelf's Address in Convocation is published under the title, “*Specific Evidence of Unsoundness in the Essays and Reviews*.”—Dr. McCaul has reprinted from the *Record*, Three Letters on Rationalism and Deistic Infidelity.—Mr. Jenkins, a pamphlet on Scriptural Interpretation, addressed to Mr. Jowett's Essay.—The Bishop of Oxford (Wilberforce), two Sermons on “*The Revelation of God the Probation of Man*,” delivered before the University.—Cazenove, *Certain Characteristics of Holy Scripture*, reprinted from the *Christian Remembrancer*.—The article in the last number of the *Edinburgh Review* on the *Essays* is ascribed to Prof. Stanley, and vindicates them against some of the charges brought against them. It ascribes the commotion rather to the articles in the Westminster and Quarterly Reviews, than to the *Essays* themselves. It speaks of “the flippant and contemptuous tone” of Williams; it complains of the extreme positions of Wilson; it laments the negative character of the volume, particularly of Jowett's essay. But it defends them against the charge of holding opinions inconsistent with an honest subscription to the Articles.—The article on the *Essays* in the new number of the *North British Review* is by Isaac Taylor. It charges them with (1) levity, (2) evasiveness, (3) shallow philosophy, (4) misdirected Biblical criticism, (5) incoherence.—Some of the German periodicals have also given an account of the book: the *Deutsche Zeitschrift*, for March; and the *Neue Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, for April 13. The latter says, that Dr. Temple's Essay cannot bear a comparison with the works of Herder and Hegel, and that it indicates a Socinian tendency as to the work of Christ. It wonders at the enthusiastic veneration of Williams for Bunsen, and that he ascribes so much to Bunsen for which Bunsen was indebted to others. It rather laughs at Wilson's suggestion, that the Germans are to furnish the materials, and the English to build the edifice, etc.—The Rev. Jas. Buchanan, D.D., has published a volume under the title, *Essays and Reviews Examined*. Two counter volumes of *Essays* by different authors are in course of preparation. Rev. T. Chapman, *Miracles the Proper Credentials of Christianity*—a reply to Powell's Essay. 2s.—The *Essays and Reviews*, and the *People of England*: with an Appendix, containing all the Documents and Letters. 1s.—A Few Words of Apology for Prof. Powell's Essay. By a Lay Graduate. 1s.—James Moorhouse, *Modern Difficulties respecting the Facts of Nature and Revelation*. Four sermons before the University of Cambridge. 25s. 6d.—*Suppression of Doubt is not True Faith*. A Letter to the Bishop of Oxford. By a Layman. 1s.—The *Essays and Reviews* are now in their ninth edition.

GREAT BRITAIN.

REVIEWS AND PERIODICALS.—The *Christian Remembrancer*, Jan. 1861, reviews Conybeare and Howson on St. Paul, with particular respect to the journeys of Paul; and Dr. Hessey's Bampton Lectures on Sunday, dissenting from his views about the institution in Paradise. It gives an account of Wolff's *Travels and Adventures*, and of the *Original Memoirs* of the first Earl of Shaftesbury, Anthony Ashley Cooper. Its essay on Certain

Characteristics of Scripture is directed against Prof. Jowett's essay in the *Essays and Reviews*, and convicts him of careless and inaccurate statements on several points, defending the prophecies and types of the Bible, and the doctrines of Incarnation and of Original Sin. A learned and critical account of Tischendorf's Latest Discoveries concludes the number. The April number contains ten articles: 1. On Tammuz and the Worship of Men among the Ancient Nations; 2. Why should we Pray for Fair Weather? a criticism of Kingsley's sermon; 3. Notes on Industrial Training in National Schools; 4. Bennett's Congregational Lectures; 5. Social Life in the Eighteenth Century; 6. The Codex Alexandrinus—a valuable critical article; 7. The Future of the Papacy and Europe; 8. Biblical Cosmogony—against Mr. Goodwin's Essay; 9. Oxford University Sermons (Scott's and Moberly's); 10. Dogma in Relation to "Essays and Reviews."

The *Edinburgh Review*, April, besides an elaborate defence of the *Essays and Reviews*, has an able article against Dixon's Lord Bacon; a curious account of the Republic of Andorre, whose independence dates from the charter of Charlemagne, A.D. 801; articles on Political Diaries, Eton College, De Tocqueville, Mrs. Piozzi, the Fables of Babrius, Forbes's Iceland, and the election of President Lincoln. The last article takes the ground, that "the maintenance of the Union" has become "impossible."

The *British Quarterly Review*, April, has an account, in the main laudatory, of Motley's United Netherlands; a criticism of the Sinaitic manuscript, contesting its alleged antiquity, and favoring the later rather than the earlier Uncial mss.; articles on Iceland and its Physical Curiosities, Canada, Dixon's Personal History of Lord Bacon, the Impending Crisis in America, the Historic Element in Ballads, Commerce with China, Theological Liberalism, and the State of Europe. The article on Theological Liberalism refutes the statements of the *Westminster Review* and the *National Review*, about the alleged injustice shown to Dr. Davidson in his removal from his chair in the Lancashire Independent College.

In the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, April, 1861, three of the articles have respect to the authors of the "Essays and Reviews;" one on the Atonement in Relation to Modern Opinions, contests Prof. Jowett's views about the idea of sacrifice; two on Modern Sceptical Writers discuss the *Essays* themselves, and Jowett's principles of Scriptural interpretation. Two other articles are on the Early Life of Christ. The First Born, as a Title of Jesus Christ, is the subject of the most elaborate and learned discussion in this number of the *Journal*; the phrase, "the first-born of every creature," Col. i, 15, is interpreted, with Storrs and Barnes, "among all creatures the chief, or first-born"—in a figurative sense. The Nicene interpretation was, begotten before any creatures; the Unitarians make it equivalent to, the first-born among creatures; Bloomfield, Olshausen and others refer it to the eternal generation. A considerable part of the "Intelligence" of this number is devoted to extracts from various periodicals on the "Essays and Reviews."

The *Westminster Review*, for April, contains the following articles: Mr. Kingsley on the Study of History, The Sicilian Revolution, Voltaire's Romances and their Moral, The Universities and Scientific Education, Early Intercourse of England and Germany, The Cotton Manufacturers, Maine on Ancient Law, Eton, Austria and her Reforms. The article on Kingsley is a vindication of the positivist conception of history against his attacks, taking the ground, that, in a strict sense, there is no science of history; that all that it amounts to is a discovery of sociological laws by the method

of comparison. The article on Maine's new work on Ancient Law is very able; it gives the work the highest praise, as combining the excellencies of Bentham's and Montesquieu's methods. But at the same time, the Review shows its positivist tendencies, by making law to be simply a matter of observation and induction. The three stages of legal growth are, legal fictions, equity, and positive legislation.

About 25 vols. of the materials for English history were published last year under the superintendence of Sir John Romilly. The following are among the works to be issued this year: Ricardi de Cirencestria Historiale de Gestis Regum Angliae (A.D. 447-1066), edited by J. E. B. Mayor; Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, edited by B. Thorpe; Jehan de Waurin's Recueil des Croniques, edited by W. Hardy; Wars of Danes in England—in Irish—edited by Dr. Todd; a second volume of T. Wright's Political Poems from Edward III. to Henry VIII.; Sagas Relating to the Northmen, by G. W. Dasent; the Liber Albus, translated by H. T. Riley; a Catalogue of mss. on Early History of Great Britain, by T. D. Hardy. The Surtees Society have published Vol. 37 of their Collections. Rev. Jos. Stephenson, Chronicles of Great Britain and Ireland in Reign of Henry VI.

Capt. H. G. Raverty, the best Afghan scholar of the day, writes to the News of the Churches, that he is preparing a translation of Selections from the Poetry of the Afghans, from the 16th to the 19th century. Prof. Dorn, of St. Petersburg, the only other European scholar who has thoroughly studied the Afghan (or Pushto) language, says, that this poetry "is able to sustain the severest test of European criticism." Capt. Raverty published his Grammar of the Pushto at Calcutta, in 1855. He has also translated the whole of the New Testament into Pushto, and he complains of the translation begun by the American missionary, Mr. Loewenthal.

Rev. A. A. Ellis, of Trinity College, Cambridge, is to edit from the mss. of Bentley, his Notes in the Greek and Latin text of the New Testament, under the title, *Bentlei Critica Sacra*. The volume will also contain the Abbé Rulotta's collection of the Vatican mss., a specimen of Bentley's proposed edition, and an account of all his collections.

Rev. John Wesley Thomas continues his version of Dante's *Trilogy*, or the *Three Visions*, by the publication of the *Parable of Purgatory*, in the metre and triple rhyme of the original. The *Inferno* was published some years since.

The *Life of Richard Porson*, one of the most eminent of England's classical scholars, Professor of Greek at Cambridge, 1792-1806, has at last been written by I. Selby Watson, published by the Longmans.

A new edition of Johnson's *Dictionary*, on the basis of that of 1773, is to be published by the Longmans in monthly parts, edited by Dr. Latham, introducing new words, etc.

A contributor to the *Notes and Queries* refers to the remarkable coincidences between Milton's *Paradise Lost* and the Anglo-Saxon poem of *Cædmon*, paraphrased from Genesis. Junius's edition of *Cædmon* was published in Amsterdam, in 1655; *Paradise Lost* in 1667. Striking illustrations of coincidence are given by Westwood in his *Palæographia Sacra Pictoria*, 1844; and by Andras in a *Disquisitio de Carminibus Anglo-Saxonice Cædmoni adjudicatis*. Paris, 1859.

A Correspondence between the Bishop of Exeter and Macaulay has been published, relating to the representation given by the latter of Cranmer's opinions, and of the character of the Church of England in the early days of its Reformation. The letters are very courteous and very spicy. The

Bishop appears to have been successful in showing, that the historian made strong assertions on the basis of documents of doubtful authority.

Mr. Birch, of the British Museum, just elected a corresponding member of the French Institute, has published the second part of the "Select Papyri in the Hieratic character," which he terms the "Romance of the two Brothers," an Egyptian novel. It is from the d'Orbiney papyri, purchased in 1857. It was described by Mr. Goodwin in the Oxford Essays, 1858.

The second volume of Dr. Vaughan's Revolution in English History is devoted to the Reformation, from Henry VIII. to Elizabeth. He joins with Froude, in part, in the endeavor to rescue Henry from some of the opprobrium cast upon him, contending, among other things, and successfully, that Henry was not instigated to doubt the validity of his marriage with Catharine by his passion for Anne Boleyn; his divorce on that ground was contemplated 18 months before he knew Anne.

Dr. John William Donaldson died in London, Feb. 10, at the age of 49, worn out by excessive studies. He took the highest Greek prize in the University of London in 1830; and then became a fellow in Trinity College, Cambridge. In 1839 he published his *New Cratylus*, or Contributions towards a more accurate knowledge of the Greek Language; and a few years afterwards his *Varionanus*, in which he rendered the same service to the Latin. He was Head Master of the Grammar School of Bury St. Edmund's. For the last few years he had been living at Cambridge, expecting, it is said, a professorship there upon the reform of the University. He edited Pindar, and Sophocles' *Antigone*; continued K. O. Müller's *History of Greek Literature for the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge*; published Greek and Latin Grammars, and on the *Theatre of the Greeks*. His edition of *Jashar*, in Latin, was learned but fanciful and arbitrary. During the last two years he brought out new editions of most of his works.

A curious literary work is the volume of *Translations by Lord Lyttleton and Mr. Gladstone*, in which the distinguished Etonians turn English poetry into Greek, Latin, Italian, and German. Among the poems thus transformed are, Milton's "Comus," Dryden's "Sacrifice," Goldsmith's "Deserted Village," Tennyson's "Lotus-Eaters," and Heber's "Lines to his Wife," all into Greek; with Tennyson's "Enone" and "Godiva" into Latin hexameters. There is also a fine translation into monkish Latin of the well-known hymn, "Rock of Ages." We copy one stanza:

"Nothing in my hand I bring,
Simply to thy cross I cling;
Naked, come to Thee for dress,
Helpless, look to Thee for grace;
Foul, I to the fountain fly:
Wash me, Saviour, or I die."

"Nil in manu mecum fero,
Sed me versus Crucem gero;
Vestimenta nudus oro;
Opem debilis imploro;
Fontem Christi quæro immundus
Nisi laves, moribundus."

The Rev. Thomas Hartwell Horne, well known to readers of sacred literature by his "Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures," has retired from his post in the library of the British Museum, which he had filled thirty-six years (since 1824), having more than completed the allotted age of man. He is in his eighty-second year. He was at Christ's Hospital when Coleridge was (1789-95), and was for two years the contemporary of the young poet. His earliest work, "A Brief View of the Necessity and Truth of the Christian Religion," written in his eighteenth year, determined to some extent the course of his future life and studies. Dr. Horne is a voluminous writer on law, theology,

bibliography, in short, all departments of literature; and at the time of his retiring from the British Museum was engaged upon that "never-ending, still beginning" myth—"The Catalogue!" He is one of the first to enjoy the benefits of the new regulations of the Museum in regard to retiring pensions.

The Rev. Charles Webb Le Bas, Prebendary of Lincoln Cathedral and biographer of Bishop Middleton, of Calcutta, has recently died.

A new English Quarterly is announced at London, under the title, "The Museum, a Quarterly Magazine of Education, Literature and Science."

"An Asian Mystery, Illustrated in the History, Religion and Present State of the Ansaireeh or Nusairis of Syria," is the title of a work in which the late Rev. Samuel Lyde, M.A., discusses the doctrines and customs of that little-known tribe of Asiatics, whose religion has excited great curiosity among Orientalists. The Ansaireeh are a people of Syria, whose chief seat is among the mountains which produce the well-known Latakia tobacco; and they have offshoots in Antioch and Bagdad, as well as other parts of Western Asia. Their habits are peculiar, and they appear to have an extreme horror of Christians. The presence of one within forty feet, unless running water be between, makes their prayers void; but the same disadvantage does not attend the presence of a Mohammedan. They invoke the Deity under the titles of "the Prince of Bees," "the Lion," "the Crown of the Chosroes Line," and "the End of Ends." This, and much other curious information, is supplied in Mr. Lyde's book.

The British and Foreign Evangelical Review, London and Edinburgh, Jan. 1861, has two articles from American periodicals, viz. Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy of the Conditioned, from the Princeton Review, and Unitarian Tendencies, from the American Theological Review. It has also a translation of an interesting article on the Life and Labors of Martin Luther, by Rosseeuw St. Hilaire from the *Revue Chrétienne*, and of Schneider on the Lutheran Doctrine of Christ's Vicarious Death, from the *Studien und Kritiken*. Its original papers are on the Views of the Early Christians on the Atonement, in opposition to Baur and Jowett; on the Theory of an Incarnation without a Fall, criticising recent German speculations; and a very valuable account of Melancthon and the Theology of the Church of England, proving conclusively the early Calvinism of that church in opposition to Laurence, Tomline, and others. The April number contains 18 articles, two from American periodicals; two, translated from the German, on Didymus of Alexandria, and Lange's address at the Barmen Conference, on Worldly Literature and Christianity; reviews of Bateman's Life of Bishop Wilson, of Carlyle's Autobiography, and of Ackerman's Plato; a sketch of the Hebrew Monarchy; and a long account of the Oxford Essays, in their relation to doctrine. There is also a very good account of Vinet's History of Preaching among the French Reformed.

Dr. Candlish's work on the Atonement, its Reality, Completeness and Extent, appears after sixteen years in a new edition. It is a vigorous and lucid exhibition of the subject, partly in reference to the new controversies: partly on the question of the extent of the atonement. His theory on the latter point is that of limitation; but in order to reconcile this with the unlimited offer, he resorts to the peculiar hypothesis, that the act of atonement may be postponed to the end of the world, when all the world will be called upon to give their assent to it; and the atonement is made for all who signify this assent, and not for those who reject it. The British and Foreign Review says of this theory: "It is only an hypothesis, but one of the most happy ever made on this subject, and calculated to remove a world of misty and confused thinking on the vicarious satisfaction."

"Sketches of Early Scotch History and Social Progress," by C. Innes, contains illustrations of life in the "north countrie" during times which have now left few traces behind them, excepting in books. The facts have been diligently collected from various works printed for the Bannatyne Club, the Maitland Club, and the Spalding Club; and they show Scotland and the Scotch as they were when they differed as much from Englishmen as Frenchmen do. Scottish scholars filled the universities of Europe, and often bore off the prizes; but the people at home lived in a condition of lawless ferocity, filth, wretchedness and degradation, such as has not existed in the southern part of this island since the very early Norman era. As late as the close of last century the colliers and salters of Scotland were literally slaves, being either born the bondsmen of their masters, or becoming so in after life. They had no power of leaving their employment or of bettering their fortunes; and it was found necessary, in 1775, to pass an act of Parliament to relieve them from their miserable state. This act did not take complete effect until 1799; and as late as 1842, a Scotch collier told the members of a Parliamentary Commission that he himself had been born a slave, and had worked for some years in that condition.

The "Curiosities of Crime in Edinburgh" during the last thirty years, have been illustrated by Mr. James McLevy, a member of the Edinburgh Police District Force, who has been working at his vocation ever since 1833, and who has been concerned in 2220 investigations.

GERMANY.

Necrology. Dr. J. M. Jost, the well-known Jewish historian, died at the age of 67, at Frankfort Nov. 20. His chief works were: History of the Israelites from the Times of the Maccabees, 10 parts, 1820-47; General History of the Israelites, 2 vol. 1831; English Reading Book, 4th ed. 2 vol. 1852; Mythological Gallery, 1834; works on German Grammar, etc. He translated the Mishna, and edited the *Israelit. Annalen*, 1839-41, and Zion, a monthly periodical.

The works of Bunsen (whose death was mentioned in our last number, p. 376) in chronological order, are the following: De jure Atheniensium hereditario, 1818; Beschreibung von Rom (with Platner, and others), 3 vol. 1829-37; the History of the Passion and the Still Week, 2 parts, 1841; Elizabeth Fry, and the Christian Women of Germany, 1842; the Basilicas of Christian Rome, 1843; the Constitution of the Church of the Future, 1845 (translated into English); Egypt's Place in Universal History, 5 vol. 1845-56 (translated); Ignatius of Antioch and his Times, 1847; the Three Genuine and the Four Spurious Epistles of Ignatius, 1847; Constitution of the German Federation, 1848; Project for a Constitution for the Empire, 1848; on Sleswick and Holstein, 1848; Hippolytus and his Times, 4 vols. and under another title, 6 vols. 1852 sq.; Signs of the Times (translated), 3d ed. 1856; God in History, 3 vol. 1856-8; and his Bible Work, of which 8 parts were published, 1858-60.

Besides the works of Baur of Tübingen, enumerated in our last number, p. 375, he also wrote: Symbolism and Mythology, or the Natural Religions of Antiquity, 2 vol. 1824; De Gnosticorum Christ. ideali, 1827; Pastoral Epistles of Paul, 1835; Origin of Episcopacy, 1838; the Ignatian Epistles and their latest Critic (Bunsen) 1848; Gospel of Mark, 1851; the Tübingen School and its Relation to the Times, 2d ed. 1860. The successor of Baur

at Tübingen is the court chaplain Dr. Weizsäcker, a man of entirely different tendencies.

The chief works of F. C. Dahlmann, who died Dec. 5, at Rome, were: on the Athenian Comedy (in Latin) 1811; Historical Investigations, 2 vol. 1821-4; an edition of Adulfus (Neocorus) Chronicle of Dithmar, 2 vol. 1827; Sources of German History, 2d ed. 1838; Politics in Relation to Present Affairs, 1st vol. 3d ed. 1847; History of Denmark, 3 vol. 1840-4; History of English Revolution, 1844, 6th ed. 1853; History of French Revolution, 1845, 3d ed. 1853.

Prof. Hitzig of Zurich, of rationalistic tendencies, has been called to succeed Umbreit in Heidelberg. Ullmann has been compelled, by the negative party, to leave his post in the Church Council, and his position as Prelate. Dr. Bähr has also resigned his place on the Church Council, after years of faithful service. Ullmann says that Bähr's recent revision of the Agenda is superior to any thing of the kind now in use in German churches.

PERIODICALS.—The *Studien und Kritiken*, Heft 2, 1861, opens with an article from Bleek's *ms. Lectures*, edited by his son, on Isaiah lii, 13-14, 12, to be followed by other extracts. While he does not view this passage as a direct prophecy, he acknowledges that the whole description of the servant of God is such that it seems to present, even in detail, the image and the history of the Saviour. He acknowledges, too, that the description is that of vicarious sufferings, not merely for the benefit, but also for the expiation of the sins of the people. The second article, by Richter, is on Pædobaptism, its Nature and Right, defending it not as necessary, but as salutary, and in connection with the position, that baptism confers the Holy Spirit and the forgiveness of sin. A long philological and polemic article by Steitz, on the use of *ἐκείνος* in the classics and in John's Gospel (ix, 37 and xix, 35) defends against Buttmann the position, that the Evangelist there means himself. Gurlitt investigates the sense of various passages in Matthew vii, 13, 14, xvi, 18, x, 28 (Luke xii, 4, 5,) the latter against Stier, in his Words of Christ, who interprets it of Satan and not of God. Ullmann gives an interesting account of Pressler's life of Ambrose Blaurer, the first reformer of Suabia; Holtzmann reviews Maier on 1st Corinthians, etc.

The *Deutsche Zeitschrift* for 1861, edited by Hollenberg, appears in a new and reduced form, as a monthly periodical, devoted to essays and reviews. Messner, on Neander, gives a genial sketch of his character and influence. Julius Müller reviews Menken's life, by Gildemeister. The number for March contains a review of the Oxford Essays and Reviews, rather wondering at the excitement they have occasioned, and criticising their vague and immethodical character. The *Neue Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* still prospers on the old basis. It gives more religious intelligence than any of the German periodicals, besides longer articles, e. g. a good account of Baur, and sketch of the life of the late King of Prussia.

The *Zeitschrift f. wiss. Theologie* (the organ of Tübingen) Heft 1, 2, 1861, contains in two parts a learned essay by the editor, A. Hilgenfeld, on the Investigations about the Gospels, reviewing the earlier conjectures (Semler, Lessing, etc.) and giving an account of the more comprehensive hypotheses of Eichhorn, Hug, Schleiermacher and Gieseler, and of the later theories of Strauss, Bauer, Baur, Weisse, Wilke and others. Lipsius on Galatians ii, 17. Volkmar on the apocalyptic books, Ezra IV. and Enoch in two articles. An anonymous article on Julian the Apostate proposes to answer the inquiry, How far is his apostacy to be defended? giving in this number a preliminary sketch of his life. Hilgenfeld, the Origin of

the Book of Enoch, is in opposition to Volkmar, who puts it in the times of Barkochba. Hilgenfeld contends for its origin about 98 B.C. in the time of the Jewish King, Alexander Jannæus.

Zeitschrift f. die historische Theologie, Heft 2, 1861. The first and longest article is by Hochhuth (in continuation of his History of Sects in Hesse) on Theobald Thamer, a mystic of the 16th century (died 1569), of whom Neander gave an interesting account in a pamphlet published in 1842. Dr. Ebrard gives an account of the breaking out of the first French Religious War in 1562. Dr. Hartwig agrees with Schwab (in his Life of Gerson), that Gerson was not the author of the famous work *De Modis uniendi ac reformandi Ecclesiam*, and conjectures that it is to be ascribed to Andreas of Escobar (Scobar), who died after 1437, and of whose other works a list is given, p. 311. The last article, of 6 pages, by Edward von Muralt, Librarian in Petersburg, contains various readings of the Moscow manuscript of the Church History of Eusebius, probably from the 12th century. Schweigler, in his edition, made use of the Mazarin ms. of the 10th century; Laemmer has used the Venetian ms. of the same century.

Theologische Quartalschrift, Erstes Quartalheft, 1861. Besides reviews of various recent works, this Roman Catholic quarterly contains an interesting paper on Gregory VII and Henry IV at Canossa, by Hefele; an article on the object of the Gospel of John, by Aberle; and critical notes on the *Eclogæ Propheticae* of Eusebius of Cæsarea, by Nolte. Hefele defends Gregory against the charge of deception in his treaty with Henry. Aberle makes the main object which John had in view to be, not so much the supplying what was lacking in the other evangelists, as the proof that Christ was the incarnate Logos, against unbelievers and heretics.

Two valuable German periodicals ceased to be published at the close of 1860: the *Leipsc Repertorium*, edited by Dr. E. G. Gersdorf, and the *Allgemeines Repertorium für theol. Literatur*, edited by Dr. H. Reuter. The former of these has been invaluable for its thorough bibliographical notices, and classification of books. All the departments of learning were well represented in it.

The *Zeitschrift f. die lutherische Theologie*, Heft 1, 1861, begins the publication of the autobiography of Rudelbach, Dane by birth and German by descent, one of the editors. He was born in 1792. The account of his youth gives interesting sketches of Copenhagen, 1792-1800. Keil on Shiloh, Gen. xlix, 10, defends the Messianic interpretation with Hengstenberg, and against Kurtz, and Delitzsch (in his *Genesis*—he interpreted it of Christ in his *Prophetic Theology*, 1845). Keil's dissertation is able and learned. Kurtz interprets Shiloh as "peace," or "place of peace;" Delitzsch makes it refer to the city of Silo (1 Sam. iv, 12.) The other articles are by Hurban on Church Parties, and by the jurist, Göschel, on the biblical principles of state law in connection with ecclesiastical and international law. The second Heft has a discussion on the Cherubim by Engelhardt, in reply to Kurtz and Hofmann; Studies on the Epistles to the Corinthians, by Th. Schott; the Doctrine of Predestination in the *Formula Concordiæ*, by J. A. L. Hebart; K. Ströbel, on the Ministerial Question and its Bearings, and a full critical bibliography.

The first part of the new periodical for Canon Law (*Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht*), edited by R. Dove, gives promise of being an able work. The first part contains an Introduction by the Editor; Oppenheim on the Discussions in the English Parliament about Civil Marriage; Hermann on the Project of a Church Constitution for Saxony; Richter, the Relation be-

tween the R. C. Church and the State in Prussia, since 1848; reviews of recent works; and legal documents.

The first part of a new edition of Lucian of Samosata, has been published by Francis Fritzsche of Rostoch, who more than thirty years since began his labors upon this satirist. Dindorf and Bekker have in the meantime published other editions: and Dindorf has in contemplation a more complete textual revision, with the aid of the best codices. Fritzsche has also drawn to his help several valuable manuscripts. The combined labors of these eminent scholars will, it is hoped, at last give a purified text.

Dr. W. Binder's *Novus Thesaurus Adagiorum Latinorum*, Stuttg. pp. 403, is an enlarged edition of his *Medulla Proverbiorum Latinorum* (increased from 1875 to 3609), and is said to be the fullest and best collection of the Roman and later Latin proverbs, including an account, as far as possible, of their origin, and a comparison with German proverbs.

The University of Leipsic celebrated, Dec. 2, 1860, the 450th anniversary of its foundation, its ninth semi-centennial. Among its greatest names is that of Leibnitz. Oswald Marbach has published a history of the University, on the basis of authentic sources. The Acts of the University, A.D. 1523 to 1558, edited by F. Zarncke, have been completed, published by Tauchnitz for 8 Thalers.

It is proposed to erect a monument to the memory of the great geographer, Carl Ritter, at Quedlinburg, the place of his birth, where is also a monument to the memory of Klopstock. The ministers of state, Von Bethmann-Hollweg and Von Roon, are at the head of a commission for this object.

A very valuable work, and a needed supplement to Latin dictionaries, is Dr. J. G. Th. Grässe's *Orbis Latinus*, giving the Latin names of places, cities, seas, lakes, mountains, and rivers, in all parts of the world, with a German-Latin index; it costs 1½ Thalers.

It is said that the late King of Prussia left in manuscript a work on the History of the Evangelical Church and its Development, which is to be published by Prof. Richter.

Dr. G. M. Redslob, in his *Apokalypsis*, attempts a revival of the mystical theory of interpretation, as necessary to the true understanding of Scripture, on the basis of the Alexandrian hermeneutical school. The speaking with tongues in the Church of Corinth was, it seems, the proclamation of this esoteric doctrine. Judas Iscariot, carrying the bag, means that he kept the door while these mystic truths were uttered.

The Wurtemberg Summaries, or concise Interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, are in the course of republication at Nuremberg. They were first issued 1659-1672; and another edition in 1700. They were drawn up by direction of the pious Duke Eberhard III, at the time when a revived interest in religion followed the devastations of the Thirty Years' War. The chief authors were the Prelate John Heinlin, a forerunner of Bengel, and the General Superintendent Conrad Zeller. They are distinguished for simplicity, orthodoxy, and practical use, and have always been highly esteemed. Dr. Graul began a republication in 1846. Of the new edition, now in progress, the first volume, on the Pentateuch, and the sixth, on the Epistles and Revelation, are issued. The whole will be comprised in six volumes.

Dr. Lämmer's new edition of the Church History of Eusebius is sharply criticised by Hollenberg in the *Literarisches Centralblatt*, attacking particularly his collation of the Venice manuscript, as very incorrect and incomplete.

Among the new works announced for publication are, Keil on the Pentateuch, 2 vols. ; Kahnis, Lutheran Dogmatics, 2 vols ; Wolff, the Book of Judith ; two new parts of Lindner's *Bibliotheca Patrum Selectissima* ; a second edition of Delitzsch's *Biblical Psychology*.

Reuter's *Repertorium* for Sept. 1860, gives an account of a curious work, highly praised for research, by J. L. Stubach, published at Stockholm and Leipsic, Part 1, 1856, Part 2, 1859, called, *The Primitive Religion, or the Discovery of the Primitive Alphabet*. The basis is in the author's researches among the Runic inscriptions, alphabet, numbers, etc. His theory is, that there is one primitive alphabet, of 12 signs (8 being vowels) ; that these 12 signs are symbols, containing the primitive faith ; that each of the 12 has a fourfold significancy, arithmetical, phonetic, geometric (in writing), and symbolical ; that this symbolical sense is found in the 12 signs of the zodiac, which signs thus give the primitive alphabet, and also contain the Messianic account of the world from Adam to Christ (transferred to the course of the sun) ; and that in the misinterpretation of this, was the beginning of polytheism and idolatry. The enlargement of the alphabet from 12 to 22 was not for the sake of the sounds, but had a dogmatic significancy, having respect to the promised Messiah, etc.

Professor Bergk, of the University of Halle, claims to have discovered eight new songs of Goethe. He has published them as a supplement to Goethe's works. They were first printed in Jacobi's "*Iris*," and have hitherto been ascribed to other authors. Bergk finds his proof of their genuineness among J. G. Jacobi's papers, preserved in the library of the University in Freiburg, (the Roman Catholic Seminary of the Grand Duchy of Baden), and in his own critical genius.

It is stated that the King of Bavaria has given 5000 florins towards the publication of a *History of Science in Germany*.

The Prussian Universities.—During the summer session of 1860, the six Prussian Universities had thirty-one ordinary and eighteen extraordinary professors, and eight private teachers, all occupied in instructing students in the department of theology. The theological students attending these Universities in 1859–60 were as follows :

| | |
|----------------------|---------------------------------|
| In Griefswald, | during winter, 36 ; summer, 30. |
| In Halle, | " 499 ; " 497. |
| In Breslau, | " 291 ; " 285. |
| In Königsberg, | " 128 ; " 112. |
| In Bonn, | " 286 ; " 287. |

Of the 1567 theological students attending the winter session, 1452, and of the 1523 attending the summer session, 1434, were natives of the country.—*Neue Evang. Kirch.*

HOLLAND.

The annual Programme of the Hague Society for the Defence of the Christian Religion has been issued by Prof. Van Stengel of Leyden. The subjects for the prizes Sept. 1, 1861, are on the Principle of Authority in Religious Matters, as held by the different branches of the Church, with its Scriptural warrant ; and on the Discipline of the Early Christian Church. For Sept. 1, 1862, a critical Investigation of the Contents of the Talmud, in relation to the originality of the Christian religion ; a Collection and popular Interpretation of those passages of Scripture which have been most perverted in practical relations. For Dec. 13, 1861, a popular relig-

ious work, examining the principles of the so-called Modern Theology; a critical history of opinions about the Intercourse of Men with Spirits; a proof of the Resurrection of Christ, and its importance to the Christian faith. Other questions proposed are, the Moral Character of the Christian Revelation; the Independence of Faith in the Divine Origin of Christianity in relation to historical and critical science; the grounds of belief in Immortality; a history of the doctrine of Moral Freedom; an Examination of Materialism; and an account of the opinions of the School of Tübingen.

The subjects for the annual prize of 400 florins of the Teyler Society of Haarlem have reference to the work of Pécaut on Christ and Conscience, (noticed in this REVIEW, 1860, pp. 123-5), viz.: Can the absolute sinlessness of Christ be proved against historical and philosophical objections? Can it be maintained, even if we suppose that the personality of Jesus proceeded from a natural development of humanity? What is the importance of the results of this inquiry for our times?

DENMARK.

The Literary Society of the North, at Copenhagen, though not long in existence, has published 20 to 25 volumes. Its object is to reëdit the monuments of the old Scandinavian literature. Among its publications is an edition of Gragas, an Icelandic code of 1118, with a Danish translation by Finsen, much superior to the Latin translation of the 4to edition of 1829. It has also published the Songs of Iceland, those of the Faroe Islands, Sagas, etc. The Society of Northern Antiquaries, of which Rafn is the secretary, publishes two periodical works, viz. a Review of Northern Archæology, containing the proceedings of the Society; and Annals of the Archæology and History of the North, containing the memoirs and papers read, etc.—*Corresp. Littéraire*.

R U S S I A .

Died at Heidelberg, Oct. 12, 1860, at the age of 29, Maria Nikolajewna Wernadski (her maiden name was Schigajew), a Russian lady of unusual literary attainments, specially learned in political economy. She translated Hopkins' work on Political Economy into Russian, and also took part in the translation of Tengoborski's on the Productive Powers of Russia, besides writing on these subjects several essays in Russian journals.

The Russian Press. In Russia, excluding Poland and Finland, there were published last year, 310 periodical papers; 142 in St. Petersburg; 45 at Moscow; 10 at Riga; 11 at Dorpat; 10 at Odessa; 8 at Kiew; 6 at Tiflis; 5 at Wilna; 5 at Cronstadt. There is also an official journal in each of the 66 provinces of the empire. Of the periodicals, 230 are in the Russian language; 38 in German; 29 in French; 5 in Armenian; 2 in English—shipping reports; 3 in Lithuanian; 1 in Hebrew-German; 2 in Russian-French-German, etc. Twelve are daily; 2, five times a week; 7, three times a week; 3, twice a week; 99, weekly; 64 monthlies; 9 quarterlies; 6 yearly. Four are devoted to theology; 8 to pedagogics; 3 State economy; 7 geography; 2 philology; 5 bibliography; 16 medicine; 16 natural sciences; 3 mathematics, etc.

SWITZERLAND.

The Academy of Geneva celebrated, June 5, 1859, its Three Hundredth Anniversary. In commemoration of the event the *Livre du Recteur*, 1559—1859, has been published by Revilliod, Fort & Fick, 400 p. 8vo. This is the register of all the names of students inscribed; about 7000 from all the countries of Europe. The volume also contains a list of the Professors and Rectors of the Academy.

ITALY.

Dr. McCrie's History of the Reformation in Italy, has been translated into Italian, and is now widely circulated.

The Emperor of France has been attempting to get Volterra's Descent from the Cross (reckoned by some one of the three masterpieces of painting) transferred from the Church of the Trinita in Rome, to Paris, on the ground that the church, built by a French King, is still owned by France. But the Courts decided adversely to his claim, after the picture had been taken down for removal.

The excavations at Pompeii, suspended since 1849, have been recommenced.

The Vatican contains 100,000 printed books and 25,000 mss., 2,380 of which are Oriental; also a museum of medallions and other antiquities. The Casanatensian library consists of about 120,000 volumes and of mss., some of which are of great value. The Angelica library contains 148,725 volumes, and the Aracelitana is also richly stored; the Barberina has 60,000 printed works, 10,000 mss., and the original autographs of Tasso and Petrarch. The Corsinian library, consisting of an immense mass of books, is the best in Rome or Europe for its collection of rare prints, engravings, and the editions of works of the 18th century. The Chigian and the Vallicellian are both rich in books and mss. In all the convents there are large libraries, but both in these and in the others above named, there is a dearth of modern books, especially of those that treat of social sciences. As far as the cause of superior instruction is concerned, the deficiency is very great; but as regards ancient works, the libraries contain treasures with which those of no other city can compete.

Garibaldi has accepted the dedication to him of an autobiographical work about to be issued, entitled, "Student Life in Venetia," edited by Signor Girolamo Volpi, whose novel, "The Home and the Priest," was published last year under the auspices of Leigh Hunt. The translation from the unpublished Italian manuscript was effected by Mr. Carey, the translator of Dante's "Divine Comedy," and author of "Psyche's Interludes."

The Struggles of Venice under the leadership of Manin, 1848-9, are recorded in M. de la Faye's "*Documents et Pièces Authentiques Laisées par Daniel Manin*," published in Paris. For about a year and a half Venice resisted the whole military and maritime force brought to bear on it by Austria; though Asiatic cholera was ravaging its population; though food was scarce, and relief impossible; though conflagrations were perpetually bursting out among the houses struck by the enemy's shells; though the ammunition of the besieged grew less and less day by day, and finally dwindled down to nothing; though the little Venetian fleet was deprived of almost all its hands by disease, and though Manin himself was constantly suffering acute anguish from a complaint of the heart. M. de la Faye

does justice to this magnificent episode in the annals of Italian heroism ; while, on the other hand, he exhibits the miserable double-dealing of Lamartine, who, while professing the utmost sympathy with the insurrectionary Italians, twice assented to a bargain for surrendering Venice to Austria, in consideration of France receiving Savoy ! Cavaignac and Jules Bastide are also shown in a somewhat unfavorable light ; and M. de la Faye regards the conduct of the English Government in those days as being far more honest than that of France.

FRANCE.

M. Guizot in his Address to Lacordaire, when the monk was received among the 40 of the Academy, is reported to have commenced his speech, addressing Lacordaire, thus :

"What would have happened, Monsieur, if you and I had met six hundred years ago ? I have no taste for awakening reminiscences of discord and violence ; but I should not respond to the sentiment of the generous public who hear us, and the great public outside these walls who took such an interest in your election, were I not, like it, moved by and proud of the noble contrast which exists between what passes at present in this hall, and what would have taken place formerly under similar circumstances. Six hundred years ago, Monsieur, if persons of my religious persuasion of that day had met you, they would have assailed you with indignation as an odious persecutor, and you, ardent in inflaming the victors against heretics, would have exclaimed, 'Strike—strike always ! God will know how to distinguish his own !'"

The allusion was to the reputed words of Arnould, the papal legate, Abbot of Cîteaux, addressed to the crusaders against the Albigenses, about to attack the city of Begiers, July 22, 1209, who asked him, How they were to distinguish the faithful from the heretics, viz. *Cædite eos, novit enim Dominus qui sunt ejus*. M. Ch. Tamizey de Larroque, in the *Correspondance Littéraire* (Feb. 10), attempts to show that there is no sufficient evidence that these words were ever spoken by the Abbot. The story is not found in any of the early chronicles. In Guizot's *Collection of Chronicles*, there are six upon the capture of Begiers, in none of which is it mentioned : not in Guillaume le Breton, nor Guillaume de Nangis, nor in the *Histoire de la Guerre des Albigeois*, written in the Romance ; nor in the *Chronique de St. Denis*, nor in the *History of the Crusade*, written in verse. It is first found in the work of a German monk, Peter Cæsarius, a Cistercian, of the monastery of Heisterbach (near Bonn), in his *Dialogi de Miraculis*, written about 1223, a writer famous for credulity. *Testis unus, testis nullus*, says the critic. This same Cæsarius reports another saying of the Abbot of Cîteaux, when asked what should be done with the captives at Mineroc, that they should pardon those who became converts, but burn those who refused.

A work on the History of Jansenism, by René Rapin, hitherto inedited, has been published by Abbé Domenech. It brings the account down to 1644, furnishing new materials.

The wars of Tamerlane in Asia Minor are the subject of an Armenian Chronicle of Thomas de Medzoph, translated by F. Nève, professor at Louvain, and published at Brussels, pp. 158.

Hoëne Wronski's *Philosophie Absolue de l'Histoire* was published in 2 vols. in 1852 : The first volume of his *Posthumous Works*, just issued, is on the *Développement progressif et fut final de l'humanité*.

"Tacitus and His Age" is the title of a new work by Guchan, in which the character of Nero is smoothed over in a novel manner. Thus the early part of his reign is said to have been, though popular, much affected by "family difficulties."

The *Annales de la Philosophie Chrétienne*, Février, 1860, contain an article translated and edited by Panthier, from the mss. of a Jesuit missionary in China, in the 18th century, Father Prémare, on certain works of Chinese Philosophy, supposed to indicate the primitive monotheism of that people. The work commented on dates from the 11th century, and is of a philosophical rather than a theological cast, containing speculations akin to those of the Stoics. M. Panthier published in 1844 an *Esquisse d'une Histoire de la Philosophie Chinoise*. Father Prémare also wrote a *Notitia Linguae Siniacæ*, published at Malacca in 1831, a century after his death, and subsequently translated into English by J. G. Bridgman, Canton 1847, 700.

M. Charles Schoebel continues his examination of Primitive Monotheism in the *Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne*. His chief object is to refute Renan's position, that the monotheistic belief was a specialty of the Semitic race. He accordingly points out the evidence of its existence in other races, and the proof that tribes of the Semitic race have in many instances degenerated into polytheism, like other races. The December number gives evidence in favor of the primitive monotheism of the Chinese, the Greeks, Babylonians, Chaldeans, Assyrians and Syrians. The Arabs (Semitic) were originally monotheistic and became polytheistic.

A report to the Minister of Public Instruction, by M. Mérimée, proposes some changes in the public libraries of Paris. The library of the Arsenal is famous for its collections in dramatic literature, poetry and romance; St. Genéviève in theology; the Sorbonne, in philosophy and the classics. To complete the specialties of each, it is proposed to take works from the others; and to transfer to the Imperial library the works which will there fill up important collections—the latter to make amends by giving to each of the others the publications which will make it complete in its own branch.

The Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres has elected as honorary members, De Rossi of Rome, Immanuel Bekker and Theod. Mommsen of Berlin, and Weill of Heidelberg.

Abbé Martin, of Agde, has published a work on Chrysostom, his works and his age, in 3 vols. pp. 1636, 21 francs, which the *Annals of Christian Philosophy* says is one of the noblest panegyrics ever issued upon the golden-mouthed preacher. It enters fully into the contemporaneous history of the Greek emperors.

Abbé Migne writes to the *Annals of Christian Philosophy* (Jan. 1861) announcing the completion of his two vast collections (*Cursus Completus*) of Patrology, in 326 volumes, large 8vo, double columns. The *Course of Latin Patrology* is in 217 vols. from Tertullian to Innocent III: the *Græco-Latin* is in 109 volumes, from Barnabas to Photius; the Latin version of the Greek is sold separately in 55 volumes. The Latin volumes cost five francs, the Greek-Latin, 8. Besides this, there have been prepared, and will be soon published, 12 large volumes containing 210 general and special indices and tables; these alone cost, in editing, half a million of francs—500 years of the time of fifty different persons! The Abbé says in conclusion: *Nunc dimittis*: and, *Cursum meum consummavi*.

Léon Pages, *Bibliographie japonaise*—a Catalogue of all books relating to Japan published since the 15th century. 4to 6 fr. M. Pages has also translated into French, from the Dutch, an *Essay on Japanese Grammar*

by J. H. Dunker-Curtius, with the illustrations and additions of Hoffmann. 8vo, 20 fr.

The French poets of the Carolingian order are to be reproduced under the authority of the Minister of Public Instruction, in 40 volumes; 4 have been published.

The grand prize of the National Institute for the best collection of the masterpieces of French prose writers from the 14th to the 16th centuries, accompanied by a dictionary, grammar, and history of the language at that epoch, was assigned, Feb. 7, to D. K. Monnard, Professor of the Romanic Language and Literature at Bonn.

M. L. de Rochaud is about to publish an elaborate work on Phidias, his Life and Works; the Marbles of the Parthenon. The *Correspondance Littéraire* of Feb. gives a valuable chapter from it on the marbles in the collection of the British Museum.

Two recent French works are devoted to the Wars of the Peasants in France (*La Jacquerie*, 1356-8). In one of them M. Perrens eulogises Etienne Marcel, the leader, as the hero of French liberty; in the other M. S. Luce represents Marcel and the whole movement as revolutionary and disorganising. The former work attributes to Marcel an agency which the facts do not warrant, in the *Ordonnance* of 28th Dec. 1355, which many French historians describe as *La grande charte des Français*.

Scherer in his *Mélanges de Critique* says, that "the Bible contains no prophecies," "that if any Jews have been converted by the 53d of Isaiah, it has been from mere ignorance." Dr. Capadose of the Hague writes in reply to this to the *Archives du Christianisme* in a very earnest manner: "If I could see M. Scherer, I would say, here is an Israelite, who refutes your false statement, not by words, but by facts." At 25 years of age he was reading the Gospel of Matthew, and his attention was accidentally directed to the 53d of Isaiah: "I read it through; it impressed me deeply; I thought some one must have changed the book, for I found here the Gospel: in this man of sorrows I found the Messiah." "For 49 years this faith has been the joy of my life, my comfort in all trials." "So it was too with his deceased brother," he adds, saying, "that if all this is the result of 'ignorance,' it shows that ignorance has a remarkable power, that of making life happy, and death peaceful."

Newspapers in Paris. Paris contains 503 newspapers, of which 42 are devoted to politics, and have to deposit caution money in the hands of the Government. The oldest paper, *Le Journal des Savans*, dates back to 1665. The circulation of the leading journals is as follows: *Le Siècle*, 40,000; *Le Constitutionnel*, 20,000; *La Patrie*, 30,000; *L'Opinion Nationale*, 25,000; *La Presse*, 15,000; *Les Débats*, 10,000; *Le Pays*, 8,000; *L'Union*, 4,000; *La Gazette de France*, 4,000; *L'Ami de la Religion*, 4,000; *Le Monde*, 4,000.

The journal *Le Monde*, the successor to the notorious *Univers*, now represents the Ultramontane party. As a specimen of its tone, one of the chief editors, M. Coquille, in a recent number, says, that the Reformation was rejected by the people of all countries, and imposed upon them only by their rulers; that the edict of Nantes of Henry IV was a betrayal of the Church and of France; that the Catholics have always been persecuted, and never persecutors, etc.

The pamphlet of M. Rosseeuw St. Hilaire, *Ce qu'il faut à la France*, published originally in the *Revue Chrétienne*, has had great success. It gives the verdict of history upon the persecutions of the Huguenots, tracing back to this source the evils that have afflicted France.

Count Agénor de Gasparin, formerly Deputy under Louis Philippe, and one of the Commissioners for the emancipation of slavery in the West Indies, has published an octavo volume of 500 pages, entitled: *Un Grand Peuple qui se relève—Les Etats Unis en 1861*. ("A Great People who raise themselves up—The United States in 1861.") The position which the author undertakes to prove is, that the people of the United States, in electing Mr. Lincoln, have committed no fault, but on the contrary, they have raised themselves up; they have raised themselves from the barbarism into which the slave power was drifting them, and placed themselves on nobler and more civilized ground.

The sixth volume of the *Correspondence of Napoleon First* has appeared, comprising the time of Buonaparte's Consulship, the *coup d'état* of the 18th Brumaire, the second war in the Vendée, the second expedition to Italy, Marengo, and the preliminaries of the Luneville Treaty.

The fourth volume of *M. Guizot's Memoirs*, and the third of his *Translation of Shakespeare*, are announced in Paris.

Auguste Callet has published a work on the existence of hell and eternal punishment. His principal point is, that the idea not only involves an eternity of suffering, but an eternity of depravity in the sufferer.

M. Garnier Pages, who was formerly Mayor of Paris and afterwards a member of the provisional government, will shortly publish a "History of the Revolution of 1848," giving an account of all the political events of that memorable year. It will appear in four parts, under the following titles: "The Revolution of 1848 in Europe," in three volumes; the "Fall of Royalty," in one volume; "The 24th February, 1848," also in one volume; and "The Provisional Government," in three volumes. The intimate knowledge which M. Garnier-Pages must necessarily have of the transactions of that period will enable him to produce a work of more than European interest.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

The late Dr. Murray submitted to the New-Jersey Historical Society, at its last meeting before his decease, a manuscript memoir of John Wither-
spoon by Ashbel Green, D.D., which had been taken to Scotland, but recovered by Dr. Murray in a visit to Scotland in 1860. The memoir was referred to the Committee on Publication—it is to be hoped that it may be published.

One of our countrymen, Mr. Thayer, has been for some years collecting materials for a life of Beethoven, in all parts of the Continent. He is now in England for the same object.

A new review, *The Danville Quarterly Review*, edited by an Association of Ministers, has been started to represent a phase of Old School Presbyterianism not adequately expounded in the Princeton Review, or the Southern Presbyterian Quarterly. An explanatory note says, "What may be expected in this Review is great personal freedom of opinion, great unity of fundamental principle, great diversity of didactic treatment, great variety on union points." The subject of Imputation is thus referred to in one of the articles: "The theological world is at present edified by the remarkable spectacle of several brethren of learning and ability exhibiting their skill in dialectics, metaphysics, and philosophy, and each in antagonism to the others, in the vain effort to subject the great cardinal doctrine of Imputation to philosophical analysis."

The *Methodist Quarterly Review* for April, among other articles, has a valuable criticism on Powell's views of the Order of Nature and of Miracles by Dr. Wing of Carlisle, Pa.; a criticism of McCosh on the Intuitions, by Dr. Dempster of Illinois; a forcible exhibition of the State of the Country in reference to Slavery, by the Editor. Dr. Hibbard, of Canandaigua, contributes a learned and just exposition of the Pauline Use of the word *σάρξ* (*flesh*) in relation to the doctrine of depravity. He takes, and ably maintains, the position that it refers to the natural, yet moral, state of man, as alienated from God; and that it involves an inability, a want of power, to submit and conform to the law of God. He holds "with Augustine, that since man by his free will became estranged from God," this "free will, left to itself, is now only active to sin," and "man needs now a new supervenient grace in order to be brought back to goodness."

The *Evangelical Review*, Gettysburg, Pa., in the April number, Art. V, furnishes a list of publications by Lutherans in the United States—a valuable contribution to bibliography. The list extends to thirty-four pages, and includes many works of great merit in theology and church history. The Lutheran standards, "The Christian Book of Concord," with an historical introduction, translated by Rev. Ambrose Henkel, was published at New Market, Va., in 1854, pp. 780. The History of the American Lutheran Church, to 1842, by Dr. E. L. Hazelius, was published at Zanesville, Ohio, in 1846, pp. 300. The best brief sketch of the History is by Prof. M. L. Stoever, published by the Lutheran Board, 1860. The ablest and most prolific author is Dr. S. S. Schmucker, whose works are widely known. The same number of the Review, Art. VII, gives the original plan for a Union of the Lutheran Church in this country, adopted by the Synod of Pa. in 1819, which led to the formation of the General Assembly in 1820.

The *Southern Methodist Quarterly Review* for April, contains the following articles: The Conflict of Moral Philosophy; Thomas Carlyle, by Prof. Stark; Thomas Babington Macaulay; Nast's Commentary, by Prof. Reubelt; Methodism in Canada, by President Cummings; Philological Study of the Latin Language, by Prof. Dickson; Lady Maxwell, by Mrs. Martin; Baptism and Church Membership of Children, by Rev. C. W. Miller; and Brief Reviews.

The *Christian Review*, April, has three interesting philosophical articles on Archetypes, the Immateriality of the Soul, and Berkeley and his Works. That on Archetypes gives an instructive history of the doctrine, particularly as developed in modern physical researches. A review of Conant's Matthew demurs to some of the proposed alterations of the old version; e. g. Matthew x: 9, Provide not gold . . . in your girdles; x: 32, Every one who shall acknowledge (for, confess) me before men; xi: 12, the kingdom of heaven is taken by violence, and the violent seize upon it; xi: 23, They shall go down to the underworld; xiii: 25, The enemy came and sowed darnels (for, tares)—"the Parable of the Darnel would savor of affectation;" xvii, 4, Let us make here three tents: xxi, 16, Prepared praise, (for perfected); xxiii: 5, They made broad their protectives! (for, phylacteries); xxiv, 22, The chosen (for, the elect). But the most important part of the criticism is the argument against supplanting baptize, by immerse—e. g. xxviii, Go ye therefore, and immerse all nations. Some of our Baptist brethren may be so immersed in this usage as not to feel that such a rendering is ludicrous as well as unnecessary; though, when they are consistently called Immersers, or Dippers, we think they must have some feeling of the sort passing over them. We are glad to find this able and

scholarly *Review* taking ground against such innovations. It justly argues that baptize means much more than immerse. Stendel's essay on the Inspiration of the Apostles is continued, and to be continued. It is well worthy of being translated.

The *Congregational Quarterly* for April, has an excellent biographical sketch of John Cotton, by J. S. Clark, D.D., and a very valuable contribution to the history of theological opinions in New England in the Old Covenant and Confession of the Northampton Church, furnished by Rev. Zachary Eddy, D.D., the present pastor of that church.

Rev. Heman Humphrey, D.D., late President of Amherst College, died in Pittsfield, Mass., April 3. He was born in 1780, graduated at Yale College, was first settled in Fairfield, Conn., and then in Pittsfield in 1817. In 1823 he was called to the presidency of Amherst College, which was raised to a high position under his wise administration of 22 years. Since 1845 he has resided in Pittsfield. His *Sermons*, *Travels in Europe*, in 2 vols., *Letters to a Son in the Ministry*, and *Letters on Domestic Education*, as well as his occasional discourses, and frequent articles in quarterly reviews and in religious newspapers, have given him an honored name in our religious literature. His last volume was a series of *Revival Sketches*, reviewed by Dr. Woodbridge in the first volume of this *REVIEW*. He was an eloquent and forcible preacher, a wise counsellor, and a foremost man in all the leading religious, missionary and philanthropic movements of the times.

Prof. J. W. Gibbs died in New Haven, March 25th, at the advanced age of 71. Prof. Gibbs was born in Salem, Mass., April 30th, 1795, graduated at Yale College in 1809, and occupied the position of tutor in that institution from 1811 to 1815. In 1824 he was invited to the professorship of Sacred Literature, a post which he occupied until his death. In this department, as also in philological and grammatical studies generally, he has long held an honored position among scholars. As an author he was chiefly known for his translations of Gesenius' *Manual Hebrew Lexicon of the Old Testament* in 1824, republished in London in 1824: in 1828 he published a *Manual Hebrew Lexicon*, in an abridged form. He was also a contributor to various periodicals. His "*Philological Studies*," "*Latin Analyst*," and "*Teutonic Etymologies*," contain some of the most valuable essays in philology that have appeared in this country. A valuable commemorative discourse by Prof. G. P. Fisher, of Yale College, is a worthy tribute to the scholarship and worth of Professor Gibbs.

The second edition of an anonymous work, called *Christ the Spirit: Being an Attempt to state the Primitive View of Christianity*, is published by Francis & Co., N. Y. 12mo, pp. 468. The author has also written *Remarks on Alchemy and the Alchemists*. His theory of Christianity is, that it was originally an offshoot from the Essenes—one of the most violent of hypotheses, unsupported by any historical evidence.

The Paris correspondent of *The World* writes, that the United States Minister at the Hague, Henry C. Murphy, Esq., has translated several poems of Jacob Steendam, the first poet of New Netherlands, born in 1616, and who came to New York (New Amsterdam) about 1652. His first poem "*The Complaint of New Amsterdam, in New Netherland, to her Mother*," was published in Amsterdam, Holland, in 1659. Another poem, entitled "*The Praise of New Netherland*," was published in 1661. Only a few copies of this translation have been printed, for private distribution.

The Society of the United Brethren for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Heathen, at its last annual meeting in Bethlehem, Pa., authorized

the Board of Directors to publish a History of the Moravian missions among the North American Indians, from their commencement, 128 years ago. The Society received last year over \$10,000; its net capital is \$153,377.

Historical and Biographical Works. J. N. Carrigan, *First Settlements of the French in the Mississippi Valley*, second series, from the mss. in the archives of the Marine at Paris.—S. Mordecai, *Virginia*, especially *Richmond*, in *By-Gone Days*; second edition. Winthrop Sargent, *Life and Career of Major André*.—The *Life of Samuel Adams*, by one of his great-grandsons, is announced.

Rev. Dr. Dorsey, late President of the Methodist Protestant Conference of Virginia, is preparing a history of the Methodist Protestant Church.

The Massachusetts Historical Society are to publish a volume of original and unpublished letters of Washington, collected by Edward Everett; and also a collection of documents relating to the early history and men of the colony, under the supervision of Mr. Winthrop.

H. B. Dawson, of New York, is preparing a History of New York during the Revolution, from manuscripts in the Mercantile Library Association. A grammar of the Flat Head, or Selish Dialect, by Mengarini, will form the 2d volume of the Library of American Linguistics. A memoir of Rev. John Brainerd, brother of David, is in preparation by Rev. Thos. Brainerd, D.D., of Philadelphia.

LIBRARIES IN YALE COLLEGE.—

| | Vols. |
|--|--------------|
| Library of the College, exclusive of pamphlets,..... | 38,000 |
| Linonian Library,..... | 12,000 |
| Brothers' Library,..... | 12,000 |
| Medical and Law Libraries,..... | 5,000 |
| | <hr/> 67,000 |

The number of unbound pamphlets is estimated at seven thousand. The Am. Oriental Society has about 1,800 books and pamphlets, deposited in the College Library. No Catalogue of the College Library has been printed since 1823. The oldest printed book is Augustine, *De Vita Christiana*, A.D. 1467, from the press of Ulric Zell, of Mayence. The library funds yield about \$1,500 per annum. The most valuable recent addition was about 4,000 vols. in 1854 from the collection of Prof. Thilo, of Halle, chiefly in ecclesiastical history.

The *Boston City Library*, founded eight years since, by the liberality of Joshua Bates, Esq., of London, now has about 100,000 volumes, while Harvard only has about 92,000. The last year it received an accession of 8,000 volumes. Theodore Parker's library of about 16,000 vols. will soon be added. Mr. Jonathan Phillips left to it \$20,000. Prof. Ticknor has recently given 2,000 volumes. The daily circulation is 508 volumes. About 18,000 persons are registered as readers. The annual expenses are \$30,000.

Three valuable manuscripts of Rev. Thos. Hooker, of Hartford, have been discovered and deciphered by Mr. J. Hammond Trumbull. The first consists of the notes to Mr. Hooker's first and second Election Sermons, 1638, 1639. The second is a long letter to Gov. Winthrop, of Mass., in defence of Conn. This is published in the Conn. Hist. Society's collections. The third is Mr. Hooker's Thanksgiving Sermon, preached Oct. 4, 1638; text was 1 Sam. vii, 12.

Literary and Critical Notices of Books.

THEOLOGICAL AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

A Dictionary of the Bible, comprising its Antiquities, Biography, Geography, and Natural History. Edited by WILLIAM SMITH, LL.D., Editor of the *Dictionaries of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, etc. Vol. I. A to J. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1860. 8vo. Pp. vii. pp. 1176.

This work is constructed according to the plan of the Editor's Classical Dictionaries, and is designed to render the same service in the study of the Bible, which they have afforded in the study of the Greek and Roman writers. It is no mere compilation, made by irresponsible and nameless persons, under the sanction of Dr. Smith's name, but it is the joint product of a number of scholars, executing each an assigned portion, which bears his name, and for which he is responsible. There are, it is true, evils connected with this multiplicity of authorship. What the work may gain in completeness, it may lose in homogeneity. The collaborators are not likely to have precisely the same theological position, the same critical principles, or the same power of grasping and illustrating a subject. Winer's *Biblisches Realwörterbuch*, which is in a certain sense the work of one man, far exceeds in unity of plan and treatment Dr. Smith's Dictionary. But such a work is not to be expected in England, nor is it perhaps to be desired. In the present state of theological science, there are some advantages attending this variety of authorship. It is a gain to the Biblical student to have placed before him discussions of leading questions in criticism and interpretation by scholars of varying prepossessions and mental habits. Few men are altogether exempt from a rationalising tendency, and as few are free from a trace of bigotry and narrowness. But where there are many factors, the errors may correct each other. The undue bias of one writer may be counterbalanced by the opposite extravagance of another. While the contributors to this Dictionary are evangelical in their tone and feeling, they differ, of course, in individual traits and opinions. They belong, also, to various ecclesiastical connections. Dr. Smith is himself a dissenter; most of his coadjutors are members of the Church of England. A number of American names, such as Pres. Felton, Profs. Conant, Hackett and Stowe, are inserted in the list of writers at the beginning of the first volume. We infer that the services of those gentlemen were not procured in season for them to contribute to the first volume, but that their pens will enrich the second volume. In a few instances Dr. Smith has been unfortunate in the selection of his collaborators. Thus for example the article on the Topography of Jerusalem is written by Mr. James Fergusson.

Mr. Fergusson is a man of ability, whose earlier life was spent in the shop

and counting-house. Like most men, who, without the advantage of a liberal education, take up science late in life, he is rash in forming his opinions and obstinate in asserting them. He has adopted the notion, based on certain architectural considerations, that the church erected by Constantine on the site of the Holy Sepulchre, was the present grand mosque es-Sükhrah in the middle of the Haram area. An erroneous view on so fundamental a point gives a wrong direction to the treatment of the entire subject. So important an article ought never to have been entrusted to the hands of one who had adopted a fanciful theory.

This Dictionary covers more ground than the work of Winer before mentioned. It contains many articles which belong properly to the department of Biblical Introduction. Thus we have articles on the Biblical Canon and on the several books of the Old and New Testament. Some of these are extremely well written. We have been particularly interested in the articles on the Canon and on Isaiah, which are able, full, and candid. That on Job is less satisfactory; the writer makes a hesitating attempt to prove the great antiquity of the book, and involves the subject in a cloud of dust, without reaching any positive result. The shorter articles on the names of obscure persons and similar topics, often neglected in works of this sort, are very complete.

We have observed in a few of the articles a disposition to turn mere hypothesis into history, and to assume as settled what is yet matter of conjecture. This is a fault which Englishmen have been very ready to charge upon the Germans, while they have claimed for themselves a keen practical sense which admits nothing without adequate proof. For example, in the sketch of Hezekiah's life, it is assumed as matter of history, proved and admitted, that Sennacherib came to the Assyrian throne in 702 B.C. Now this fact, if it be such, involves a change in the Biblical chronology; and the statement of 2 Kings 18:13, that Sennacherib came against Hezekiah in the fourteenth year of the reign of that king is proved incorrect; since the reign of Hezekiah could not have begun later than 724, and is generally placed somewhat earlier. Now we do not object to this assertion on doctrinal grounds. If the date in the passage above named is shown to be false, there should be no hesitation in admitting the result; that it will be hereafter proved and generally admitted, is possible. But in the present stage of the investigation, it cannot be regarded as a settled thing. It is as yet a plausible hypothesis, belonging to the field of scientific inquiry, but not entitled to a place in a book of results. For it is an hypothesis which requires the adjustment of three distinct sources of evidence: Berosus, i. e. Alex. Polyhistor as preserved by Eusebius, the Canon of Ptolemy, and the Assyrian inscriptions. If the adjustment were entirely simple and natural, (which it is not), there is still a cloud of uncertainty hanging over one of the factors. The Assyrian inscriptions cannot as yet be regarded as a perfectly clear and unequivocal source of evidence. It is only a few years since they were discovered, and the problem of deciphering them is not fully worked out. Much has been done, and the results already achieved reflect credit on the scholars who have wrought them. But a perfect solution is very difficult, and not to be effected in one day or by one man. The nature of the case demands that we should have something more than the authority of two or three able, ingenious but perhaps rather sanguine men.

The instance above named is not the only example of a disposition to follow implicitly the statements of Mr. Rawlinson in his extremely learned but somewhat premature work on Herodotus. Thus we find it asserted that

Sennacherib made two expeditions into Palestine, and that Zishakah was not King of Egypt until 690 B.C. The first of these propositions rests on the supposed fact that only one expedition, and that successful, is mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions. If it is certain that these are thoroughly and accurately read, and are moreover perfectly reliable and truthful, the question is settled, and we must hold to a second expedition ending in the terrible judgment that overtook Sennacherib's army as narrated in the Bible. But this view of the matter, we are compelled to think, was not in the mind of the Biblical writer. If one reads with care the narrative in the book of Kings, or in the parallel passage of Isaiah, he will find it difficult to believe that the compiler had in his mind and intended to convey to his readers the notion of two distinct expeditions. We say therefore in this case, also, that the proposition is not improbable, and may in future be proved true; but its assertion in a Biblical Dictionary, is at the least premature.

But time and space will not allow us to pursue these observations further. Though the book is doubtless open to criticism, we believe it to be the best work of the kind in the English language. It testifies to the increased attention bestowed on Biblical science in England in the last twenty-five years. It is also a hopeful sign of what England may do hereafter. We believe that more than any other nation she is capable of managing free criticism with a firm hand, and of conducting theological investigation in a liberal yet conservative spirit.

Lange's Theologisch-Homiletisches Bibelwerk. Die Corintherbriefe von Dr. CHR. FR. KLING. Bielefeld, 1861, royal 8vo, double columns, pp. 407. This volume forms the seventh part of the New Testament division of Lange's Bible-work, to which we have frequently referred in terms of commendation. It is somewhat out of proportion, as to length, with the other volumes; but it bears the marks of elaborate preparation, and is well adapted to homiletic use. It is written in the same method, and in a like evangelical spirit, with the preceding parts of the work. The remainder of Paul's Epistles, and the Revelation will complete the New Testament. The next issue will be Superintendent Moll's Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews.

Die Lehre von der Kenosis, dargestellt von Dr. PH. J. BODEMEYER. Götting. 1860, pp. 234. The question whether the Son of God, in assuming human nature, laid aside his divine nature, emptied himself of divinity, is the subject of this volume. It is, as is well known, one of the topics most ardently debated in the recent theological literature of Germany. The author reviews the theories of Thomasius, Martensen, Dorner, Liebner, Gass and Rothe, with abundant learning and acuteness. He begins with a speculative construction of the Trinity; and asserts that there is a double life in God; on the one hand, the internal, Trinitarian life; on the other, the life shown in creation, in the self-manifestation of deity. Deity must divest itself of some of its attributes and modes of working when it is revealed or manifested. But this humiliation, or emptying (Kenosis), is not found in the incarnation alone; it is also seen in all the works and ways of God in respect to creation. Some of the author's views are open to grave difficulties; as when he says, the Christ as man was not an individual, but only had the form of one,—which seems to approximate to docetism. His criticism of Martensen's doubts about the divine omniscience, and of Julius Müller's theory of a timeless fall of man, are acute. Many of his speculations are bold; and he often seems to feel assured upon matters where hesitation would be more be-

fitting. He says scarcely a word of the famous dispute between Tübingen and Giessen, on the question of *Kenosis* or *Krypsis*. He makes the humiliation of Christ to consist (p. 210), not in his laying aside the divine attributes (which would have been of no avail), but in his giving up, in his human state, the blessedness he had with the Father, and taking upon himself the wrath of God.

Principles of Natural Theology. By ROBERT ANCHOR THOMPSON, M.A. London. 16mo, pp. 120. The author of this compact little treatise is the successful competitor for the Burnett Prize a few years since. The object of the present essay is to state the intellectual principles of the theistic arguments. It is more systematic in its method and aim than the preceding essay, and a more vigorous work.

We often hear the word demonstration applied to arguments for the divine existence, but usually with regret. All that any wise man will undertake to show is, that our knowledge of God may be put upon the same basis with our other accepted knowledge. We have as good reason to cherish and act upon a belief in the existence of a personal and infinitely wise and holy God, as to put confidence in the existence of finite minds and a material universe. The three knowledges rest upon the same principles, have the same character, may be verified by the same method. Many works have been published upon the evidences of Theism, but few attempt the task which most of all needs to be done, namely, to discuss the subject in its *principles*. This Mr. Thompson has attempted in his thoughtful essay. We have read it with interest, and with entire sympathy with its purpose.

In the first chapter Mr. T. states with clearness and precision the argument from final causes. The cosmical arrangements, the unities of plan, the adjustments to ends, manifested in the universe, are undeniable. The question is, How shall this order be interpreted? We are limited to one of three hypotheses. Either the matter of the world has arranged itself, or it has been arranged by some superior power, either intelligent or unintelligent. Matter, as known, is not one being, but a system of diverse substances, existing under certain conditions. The first hypothesis is unsatisfactory. We need some arranging power superior to the world. Can this power be known to be intelligent? Every thing at least looks as if it were. If the arranging power be merely mechanical, it is a power which affords all the accepted signs of intelligence, and no others. To speak of it as unintelligent is to deny properties it does manifest, if not to attribute to it those it does not exhibit; as though a chemist were to say: This gas has all the properties of oxygen and no others, but we will call it hydrogen. It is also to falsify the spontaneous processes of the mind, as exhibited in the attainment and verification of our knowledge of all intelligent beings besides ourselves. The adjustments of a watch argue a contriver. But, says the objector, you have had experience of watch-making. Yes, is the reply, but not till I had learnt that watch-makers have minds like my own. Whence came this *prior* knowledge? Through manifestations of intelligence at least similar in kind to those seen in the watch. These signs are evidence of intelligence, because the mind carries the knowledge of itself which it gains in consciousness into the external world, and by this light of reason interprets what it sees. If it gives a valid interpretation to the signs which reveal finite minds, it may, on the same principles, recognise intelligent power in nature.

This argument reaches only to an intelligent power, the cause of the order and adaptations of the world. We infer a wise architect. Is this mind the Creator of all things? In the third chapter an inquiry is made into "the extent of possible knowledge on the doctrine of creation." The main posi-

tions taken are: (1.) That we have a cognition of a real or absolute to all phenomena. (2.) "Our knowledge of the *nature* of any being can never go beyond its relational properties or powers." (3.) Precisely the same principle of reason which enables us, through sensation, to apprehend the existence of substance, leads us to explain diversities in nature, as known, by diversities in the unknown. If the atheist retreats to the unknown, we may claim that all the signs of creative wisdom manifest in the diversities of the known must be presumed to exist in the unknown, for the one rests upon the other. Our author properly distinguishes between a cognition of existence, and a knowledge of the nature or mode of existence. Upon the latter question his language is not always sufficiently guarded. Thus (p. 30) we read: "Knowledge is always of relations. But the relations of things are not the things themselves." All that can properly be affirmed is, that our knowledge of the nature of things *depends upon* relations, diversities, etc. The nature of a substance is known through its properties, relations, etc. As matter of fact, every body with which we are acquainted is connected with something else. These relations, diversities, etc., through which substances are known, are conditions of existence as well as of knowledge; are not simply forms of thought, but belong to the things themselves. This is all that is necessary for our author's purpose, and all, we presume, for which he would contend.

These premises being conceded, it will follow that our knowledge of the finite is a knowledge of diversities, these diversities reaching to the limits of knowledge. But a universe of diversities implies limitation, combination, determined relations. If the diversities are self-existent, i. e. if the universe as known is self-existent, we have no cause for these limitations; none superior to the universe, for it is, *ex hypothesi*, self-existent; none in the universe, since its self-existence belongs to its diverse substances, and no one of these self-existent substances can limit or determine the others. In other words, the actual known universe is composed of different substances in combination, relation, etc. There are diversities of the unknown corresponding to those in the known. Such relations are valid proofs of intelligence. Their cause must be mind. This mind arranges and disposes the universe as known. This mind, then, is the Creator, and not merely the architect of the universe; because to determine the number, quantity, relations, combinations, in general, the limitations of existing substances, up to the limits of knowledge, is to determine their *existence* so far as they can be known.

Is this intelligence eternal and infinite?

The author, we are glad to notice, affirms unqualifiedly, "that the cultivated human mind always has the conception (idea?) of the Infinite Being." How can we show the objective validity of this idea? As against the idealist, we are inclined to think that the most satisfactory solution of this question will be found by simply analyzing the idea itself. Our author assumes that in the knowledge of matter and finite minds we have already passed from thought to being. He then states, as the conditions of this knowledge, conditions belonging not merely to the mental act, but to the outward objects:

1. All knowledge of the finite is a knowledge of diversities.
2. Every finite being is known as enduring.
3. Every material body is known as extended.
4. Every known change implies a cause.

These conditions, it is then shown with considerable acuteness, land us in hopeless contradictions, unless we assume the existence of a being eternal and infinite, unknown in his eternal and infinite nature, but known as the

author of all the limitations of the finite. The reality of the infinite is thus manifested by the contradictions which result from its denial.

The doctrine of the infinite which lies at the basis of this chapter, it will be noticed, differs widely from that of Sir William Hamilton, and coincides, in the main, with that set forth in former numbers of this Review. We know both that the finite and the infinite exist, though the ultimate nature of each is unknown. This result of philosophy accords with the common belief. God is unsearchable, but we know that he is.

The following chapter (Chap. 5) is occupied with an ingenious "comparison of the principles and processes of the mind in its attainment of its theological and its other knowledges." Hints of such a comparative view were frequently given in the author's Christian Theism. They are here wrought out with judgment and skill, and lead to the conclusion that our knowledge of God is one of our primary knowledges, and is spontaneously originated. This conclusion we deem thoroughly warranted, and of great importance. Without following the argument into its details, we would call attention to the use made by Mr. Thompson of the principle of causality. Through its spontaneous operation, the mind gains its first knowledge of self as distinct from the world, and, with equal certainty, its knowledge of a Being superior both to the world and man.

In the concluding chapter is presented the testimony to be derived from man's moral constitution, as to the character of God, and His purpose in placing us here. The leading topics, of course, are Free-will, the Sense of Duty, Immortality. The argument is impressively, though not elaborately, stated, and well prepares a candid mind to welcome and rejoice in that purpose of God, revealed in the kingdom of his Eternal Son.

Our summary of this well-stored essay is imperfect. We trust enough has been stated to give a correct idea of the book, and to commend it to the attention of our readers.

E. C. S.

CHURCH HISTORY.

A Text-Book of the History of Doctrines. By Dr. K. R. HAGENBACH. The Edinburgh translation of C. W. Buch. Revised with large Additions from the Fourth German Edition, and other Sources. By HENRY B. SMITH, D.D., vol. 1, 8vo, pp. 478. New-York: Sheldon & Co. 1861. Mr. Buch's translation of Hagenbach was made from the first edition, 1841; subsequent Edinburgh editions contained some of the additional matter of the second German edition. But the fourth edition of the original is much enlarged, and contains also important corrections of some of Hagenbach's earlier statements. In this first American edition, the whole of the Edinburgh translation has been thoroughly revised; the additional matter of the last German edition introduced; the German literature has been brought down to the present time, and the English and American literature added. Besides this, extracts have been incorporated into the volume from the works of Gieseler, Neander and Baur on the History of Doctrines, so that it contains what is most important in their text-books, in addition to the matter furnished by Hagenbach. In this way, the bulk of the work is one third greater than that of the Edinburgh edition. It is published in good style by Sheldon & Co. The second volume will be ready in two or three months.

The value of Hagenbach's work is attested by the frequent demand for new editions in Germany, in the midst of much competition. The second

edition of Baumgarten-Crusius (edited in the second volume by Hase); two editions of Meier; Beck's Compendium, 1848; Noack's, 1856; the second of Baur, 1858; and the posthumous works of Gieseler and Neander, have all been published since Hagenbach first came into the field, and his work alone has reached a third and a fourth edition. Gieseler's extends only to the Reformation; and Neander's is very concise on the whole period from the Reformation to the present times. Hagenbach gives a candid statement of the main points, fortified by exact citations from the sources. Its theological position is liberal and conciliatory without being negative or destructive. As a text-work in the History of Doctrines it is unsurpassed.

Apart from the additions made to the Edinburgh edition, its frequent mistakes in translating required a thorough revision. To take a few instances at random. On p. 218 of this edition, it is said of Irenæus, that "he regarded the elements as more than merely accidental things, though they are *only* bread and wine,"—it should read, "though *not* as being *only* bread and wine" (nicht als blosses Brod und Wein). On the same page, it is said of Tertullian, that "he showed a leaning towards the *allegorical* interpretation;" it should be, "towards the *sober symbolical*" (die nüchterne symbolische Auffassung). On p. 120, the views of Clement on the Logos are thus rendered: "He attaches more importance to the imminent existence of the Logos. In his opinion, the Logos is not the word of God, which was spoken at the creation of the world, but that which spoke itself." The passage should read: "He lays more stress upon the immanence of the Logos." This, in his view, is *not only* the *spoken*, but the *speaking*, creative Word of God." On p. 244, it is said of the Controversy about Images, that it "turned in the first instance upon the form of worship," instead of saying that, "it belongs in the first instance to the history of worship." On p. 256, "natürliche Häresien" is rendered, "heresies respecting the nature of Christ." On p. 286, Augustine, we are told, "directs our attention to the practico-religious importance of the doctrine of the Trinity, by reminding us of the true nature of love without envy;" it should read, "that it is of the very nature of disinterested (unenvious) love to impart itself." P. 311, the Traducianists must look upon Christ's birth as exceptional, "but even this restriction required some exception on account of the equality subsisting between his human nature and ours;" the German here says, "it required some limitation of the position, that Christ's human nature is consubstantial with ours." The translation on p. 321 about the Pelagian controversy is a series of blunders; the translator speaks of "the consequences which Celestius was compelled to infer from his premises by the opposition he met with," instead of "the inferences which his opponents drew from his premises;" of Pelagius it is said, "for aught that appears" (instead of, "as he appears") "in his writings, he was clear-headed," etc. P. 364: "General providence manifests itself in the preservation of the genus, and of the condition of all existence;" the last clause should be, "and of the circumstances in which it is placed." In a note on p. 389, the "Confessions of Augustine" (August. confess.) are translated "Augsburg Confession." On p. 391, instead of saying that Gregory Nazienzen "did not make the efficacy of Baptism depend on the external ecclesiastical position, or on the inherent moral worth of the *administrator* of the rite," the Edinburgh version reads, "on the external merit of the *church*, or the inherent moral desert of the *person* to be *baptized*." On p. 404, speaking of Augustine's views on the resurrection, we read, that he believed, that "all will have the stature of the full-grown man, and as a general rule, *will be thirty years old*," while Augustine means

only to say, that the stature will be that attained at the age of thirty years. The translation on p. 434, note 11, implies that in the doctrine of ideas the Scotists were nominalists, and the Thomists, realists: but the German contains no such inaccuracy, merely asserting that the Thomists were Aristotelian, and the Scotists Platonic, in the doctrine of universals. In the English, p. 441, Ruysbroek is accused of "mystical sensuality and voluptuousness;" the charge contained in the German is that of "mystic sensuousness and luxuriance of imagination." On p. 475 an opinion of Hugo St. Victor is thus stated, "It is impossible to conceive of a faculty of perception without beginning and consciousness;" instead of "a faculty of knowledge, without knowledge and consciousness." On p. 483, the translation says of John Scotus Erigena, that he "endeavored philosophically to establish the contrast between God and the world:" but Hagenbach said, that "he endeavored to mediate, by dialectics, this antagonism." On p. 400, a work of Hystaspes is spoken of, as if Hystaspes were a man and had written a book. These are but specimens, which might be indefinitely multiplied, of entire misconceptions of the plain sense of the original. The instances of omissions, of feeble and indefinite renderings, are innumerable.

Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte, von Dr. H. SCHMID, 1859. Pp. 180. This is the most concise history of doctrines drawn up of late years, and on some points, of very great value. Its author is well known by his learned contributions to Lutheran orthodoxy. He has much skill in compression. But the shortness of the book is in part owing to his restriction of the subject. He includes in the history only those topics, which have been so discussed as to lead to their statement in positive dogmas by ecclesiastical authority; those contained in recognised confessions of faith. Accordingly he does not give (like most of the text-books) an account of the opinions of theologians in every period on all the doctrines, but only those that issued in definite conclusions. In this respect he follows the methods indicated by Thomasius, in his monograph on Origen (1837). His division is into three periods; the Ancient Church; Scholasticism; Reformation. He ends the doctrinal development with the Formula Concordiae, which settled the doctrine of the most consistent Lutherans. He hardly seems to recognise any proper doctrinal progress among the Calvinists. So that the book has but a limited scope; although within its metes and bounds it shows the fruit of much learning. But it cannot take the place of those fuller works, which are at once more impartial and complete, not arbitrarily restricting the sphere of doctrinal growth.

Die Christliche Kirche an der Schwelle des Irenäischen Zeitalters. (The Christian Church on the Threshold of the Age of Irenæus.) Von K. GRAUL. Leipz. 1860, pp. 168. This work is small in compass, but weighty in contents. It is so full of clear thoughts, sharp statements, and compressed learning, as to awaken high expectations about the author's proposed monograph on Irenæus, to which this volume is an introduction. All the main points in the antecedent history of the church are admirable grouped, so as to give a vivid picture of the times. The position of Irenæus is sketched with a bold and firm hand. "Irenæus—nomen et omen, as the father of church history has not failed to notice (Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. v, 24): his inmost nature was peace and for peace—so much so, that for almost all his life he did not lay aside his armor—according to the maxim, *Sivis pacem, para bellum*." He was a man that mediated as did no other of his time between the extremes: "born and trained in the East and working in the West, he tempered the speculative tendencies of the land of his birth with

the practical methods of the land of his adoption." So, too, in theology, "he steered in the fortunate middle way between a three-fold Scylla and Charybdis: volatilising spirituality and gross materialism; one-sided externalizing and one-sided subjectivity; legalism and antinomianism.—The subjects of the chapters, all of which are the result of thorough study, are: Heathenism: Christianity and Heathenism: Judaism: Christianity and Judaism: Jewish Christianity and Heathen Christianity: the Gnostic Antagonism: the Montanistic Tension: the Position of the whole Internal Development of the Church, under which last are discussed, the Sources of Christian Knowledge, the Church Organism, the Dogmatic Task, Theological Science. Few German books give so much matter in such a racy form. The theological position of the writer is firm and evangelical, but at the same time learned and philosophical. He has been previously known as the author of a small work on the Distinguishing Doctrines of the different Church Parties (5th ed. 1857); by his translation of Dante's *Inferno*, said to be well executed (1843); by a larger work in 5 vols., a *Journey to East India through Palestine and Egypt*, in 1849 to 1853; and as the editor and translator of *Bibliotheca Tamulica* in three volumes, containing works illustrative of the Vedanta system.

Hebrew Men and Times, from the Patriarchs to the Messiah. By JOSEPH HENRY ALLEN. Boston: Walker, Wise & Co. 1861. pp. 435. Without any parade of learning this volume gives the results of careful study, in a clear and simple narrative. It is as different as possible from the great majority of histories of the Old Testament, especially in English literature, in its whole method of statement and illustration. The theocracy is left to be inferred, if one will; the human aspects and relations are made prominent. The Old Testament history is, in fact reconstructed, chiefly on the basis of the theory of Ewald, to whom the author acknowledges his large indebtedness. The most important points of criticism as to both fact and doctrine, and as to the origin of the Hebrew literature, are presupposed as proved, in a sense adverse to the common orthodox view. The earliest literature is from the time of the Judges. The Pentateuch is made up of fragments from several sources—comprising at least some six books. The history of the Israelites is narrated in its connection with, rather than its isolation from, that of the surrounding people. Strongly dissenting from the general position of the author, and from many of its particular statements and interpretations, we cannot but commend the manifest candor, as well as skill, with which the work is written: and only wish, that some one might perform such a task equally well, on the basis of a more complete and less revolutionary theory. The chapters on the Maccabees, and the Alexandrians are well wrought out. That on the Messiah contains some of the germs, rather intimated than urged, of a profound view of the position and work of Christ.

Legends of the Madonna as represented in the Fine Arts.—By Mrs. JAMESON. Corrected and enlarged edition. Boston: Ticknor & Fields, 1861. pp. 483. This beautiful miniature edition, in blue and gold, of Mrs. Jameson's *Legends*, was prepared for the Boston publishers, who will follow it up by her kindred works on *Sacred and Legendary Art*, *Legends of the Monastic Orders*, and *History of our Lord*, giving the text of the series, without the artistic illustrations. An excellent portrait of the author accompanies the volume. It contains the best and most popular elucidation of the legends about the mother of our Lord, and the representations given

in the successive periods of Christian art. The subject is viewed from the æsthetic side: Mary is the type of womanhood, of which each nation, and each school of art, has its characteristic ideal. The Introduction gives the history of Mariolatry, and of the artistic representations: describes the symbols and attributes of the Virgin, and the various subjects, Devotional and Historical. The Devotional Subjects are described in two parts, The Virgin without the Child, and, The Virgin and Child. The Historical Subjects are treated in five parts. The work shows thorough study of the productions of the great schools of art, a womanly and reverential interest in the theme, and felicity of description and illustration. All the acts of Mary's life have been inspiring themes for the poet, the painter and the sculptor. The growth of the system of creature-worship is fully illustrated in the history of art as related to the Virgin. There can also here be traced an attempt to make out a complete parallel between the successive events in the life of the Mother, and the stadia in the life of her Son. The heart of the whole Roman Catholic system is in the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, authoritatively proclaimed as an article of faith by the reigning Pope, in 1854. Murillo, three centuries ago, celebrated this dogma, by twenty-five pictures. For Protestants, the beauty of the art remains, even when the faith that prompted it is seen to be idolatrous. The work of Mrs. Jameson is invaluable, not as a book of religion, but as a felicitous account of one of the most attractive subjects in the history of Christian art.

Ueber Tammūz und die Menschenverehrung bei den alten Babyloniern. (On Tammuz and Man-Worship among the ancient Babylonians.) By D. A. CHWOLSON. St. Petersburg. 1860. The learned author of this tract here brings his researches on the Remains of Babylonian Literature (1859), and the Nabathean agriculture, to bear on the interpretation of the passage in relation to Tammuz in Ezekiel viii, 14, where, among the heathen abominations is mentioned, "women sitting bewailing Tammuz." The Vulgate has here Adonis: the interpretation of Jerome, of Cyril of Alexandria, and of most of the recent critics, Gesenius, Creuzer, Winer, Ewald, Rödiger. De Sacy, and Hitzig, conjecture Osiris. Benfey refers it to a Persian festival. Some Jewish commentators, taking the verb (bewail) in a causative sense, *make weep*, refer it to an idol, with eyes of lead, which were to be heated inside until the lead melted, giving the image the appearance of weeping. Chwolson, following out a hint of Maimonides, has found in the Arabic translation by Abu Said, of a Babylonian work, accounts of festivities in connection with a god *Tā'ūz* (see in Chwolson's *Sabeans*, ii. 27): "on the 15th of the month Tammuz, the women weep over him (telling) how his Lord slew him and ground his bones in a mill, and scattered them to the winds." This martyrdom of Tammuz is also identified by some with that of St. George. The representation in the Babylonian tradition is, that he was one of the first preachers of planet-worship, and suffered martyrdom in consequence, and is revered as a saint. The tract of Chwolson is full of curious learning.

Allgemeine Kirchliche Chronik, von KARL MATTHES. Siebenter Jahrgang, 1860. Leipz. 1861. This seventh volume of Matthes' Ecclesiastical Chronicles is a continuation of a valuable work. It reviews the history of the church for 1860, in all parts of the world. The accounts are evidently drawn up with considerable care. The history of theology is included. The weakest part is on the history of the church in this country. Any one who wants such a register for three shillings cannot do better than to get this. The past volumes can be procured for about 20 cents a volume.

A New Digest of the Acts and Deliverances of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. Compiled by the Order and Authority of the General Assembly. By Rev. Wm. E. MOORE. Philadelphia : Presb. Publication Committee, 1334 Chestnut street. New York : A. D. F. Randolph, 683 Broadway. . 8vo, pp. 633. This work is strictly a Digest, and not a history. It admirably answers all the demands that can fairly be made upon such a work, giving the best summary of the decisions of the Presbyterian church from 1706 to 1860. The chief editor has performed his task in a way to deserve the thanks of all who need to consult such a work. It is divided into thirteen chapters. I. Of the Church. II. Officers of the Church. III. Candidates [for the ministry]. IV. Of the Sacraments. V. The Courts of the Church. VI. Of Discipline. VII. Moral Questions. VIII. Deliverances on Doctrines. Under this is the Explication of Doctrines, presented in 1837 in reference to the memorial on Doctrinal Errors. This Explication contains the best authorized statement yet made, as to the real doctrinal position of the so-called New School branch of the Presbyterian Church. IX. On Modes of Evangelization. X. The Permanent Committees. This is confined to the action of the New School since 1849. XI. Correspondence with other Churches. XII. Plan of Union and the Division. XIII. Miscellaneous, as, Secession of the Southern Churches, Bible Classes, Fasting and Prayer, Psalmody, Amendments to Form of Government, etc. An Appendix gives the judicial decisions of the civil tribunals ; that of Judge Gibson in Banc ; the York Church Case ; and the Lane Seminary Case. The whole volume is well arranged, has a good index, and is handsomely as well as substantially got up.

The Presbyterian's Hand-Book of the Church. By Rev. JOEL PARKER, D.D. and Rev. T. RALSTON SMITH. New York : Harpers. 18mo, pp. 250. A very useful and convenient manual for the members and officers of the church. It contains something of everything about the church, the ministry, and the services of the church. There are forms of prayer for special occasions : formulas for admission into the church—distinguishing wisely between the baptized and the unbaptized : a simple Catechism for children : a list of books for parochial and ministerial libraries ; and wise and salutary directions about the affairs of the church. It ought to have, as it deserves, a wide circulation. It is a needed book. Price, fifty cents.

The Churchman's Calendar, for the year of our Blessed Lord Christ, 1861. No. 1. New York : Church Book Society. The preface of this conceited little Calendar, is dated Baltimore, and subscribed A. C. C., which letters we understand signify Arthur C. Coxe, D.D. It is "designed to exhibit an actual view" (not merely a 'view,' but an 'actual' one) "of the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church in all the World,"—on another page spoken of as "the existing Churches of Christendom," "arranged according to the ancient Catholic Law." How this "ancient Catholic Law" did, or could, assign a place to the Anglican Church, or even to the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, we are wholly at a loss to conjecture : these are put third in this Calendar, but we do not know of any "ancient Catholic law" which assigns to them this position. There are other curiosities in the "arrangement." One division (the fourth) is styled Abnormal Churches. What are these ? The Armenians, Maronites, St. Thomas Christians, the Church of Sweden, the Church of Holland (Jansenists), the Moravians, and the Copts. Was there ever such a jumble made

in a Calendar before? Copts and Maronites are 'abnormal' on account of doctrine and discipline; Moravians and Swedes are 'abnormal,' if at all, for lack of the so-called apostolical succession. Then again, there is a class called 'Tridentine Churches,' those founded since the Council of Trent in Africa, Asia, North and South America, and parts of Europe: but these are all organically connected with Rome, and acknowledge her as their head: and thus this 'actual view' is historically false. Russia and Austria, too, are put down among the Oriental churches; is this in accordance with the "ancient order"? Milan, France, Spain, etc., are put down as separate churches from the Roman, contrary to the actual facts in the case. And while the South American churches, and the Copts, and the Maronites, are all recognized as 'Catholic churches,' not a word is said as to the existence of Lutheran and Reformed churches all over Europe and America. And this is an 'actual view,' of what the author calls 'Nicene Christendom.' Even the author's own church is described as 'Anglican' instead of giving its 'actual' designation.

GENERAL HISTORY.

The History of England from the Accession of James II. By Lord MACAULAY. Vol. V. Edited by his sister, Lady TREVELYAN. New York: Harpers. 1861. This last volume of Macaulay's graphic history, begins the record of the progress of England, after the peace with France in 1697, when she entered upon a new career, the fruit of the Revolution of 1688. The work is incomplete, but it is finished in all its parts, concluding with a fragment upon the last days of William III. Such a history as Macaulay projected could never have been completed in the period allotted to man's work on earth; but it will be a model and an incentive to all future historians. It is one of the chief signs of a new era in the art of historic composition, an era in which all the interests of the human race, and the welfare of the people, shall be made prominent, instead of the deeds and sayings of crowned heads, or even of great names. The constitution, and not the ruler, is the central point of observation and interest. The people, and not a class, are recognised as the great subjects of history. Lord Macaulay had splendid gifts as a historian, and made noble use of innumerable materials. Though not devoid of prejudices, his sympathies were ever on the side of constitutional liberty. Dixon may criticise him, and justly, about Penn; the Bishop of Exeter may expose his unfairness towards the spirit, and some of the leaders, of the early English Reformation; and Mr. Paget may controvert his statements about the Duke of Marlborough, and the Highlanders; but still he has brought out the meaning and bearings of the great Revolution of 1688 as has no other writer; and has put into our hands the threads by which we can trace back the present prosperity of England to the principles of the Reformation and the Revolution. And his history, though incomplete, has already taken its place, not only as a most popular book, but also as a standard and classic work. His name is enrolled with those of Hume and Gibbon, Guizot and Thiers, Ranke and Schlosser. The three chapters which make up the present volume, were for the most part prepared for the press by his own hand. Though not as brilliant as many portions of the previous volumes, yet these pages are instinct with the life of history, and command an absorbing interest to their close. The art of historic narration is often carried in these pages to such perfection,

that the art itself is hidden. Herein Macaulay is well deserving of study. What he says is so well and exactly said, that he never uses *italics*, which D'Israeli somewhere calls "that last resource of the forcible feebles."

The whole history is published by the Harpers, in both a library edition and a 12mo. The latter, in five volumes, is produced for forty cents a volume. A full and valuable index to the whole work is appended.

History of Latin Christianity; including that of the Popes to the Pontificate of Nicholas V. By HENRY HART MILMAN, D.D., Dean of St. Paul's. In eight volumes. Vols. IV.-VIII., New York: Sheldon & Co. 1861. We are glad to learn that the republication of this invaluable work has a success proportionate to its merits, and disproportioned to these hard bookselling times. Its success is owing, not merely to the admirable style in which it is issued, nor yet alone to its indisputable merits as a historic composition, but also to the fact that it fills up a gap in our English historical literature. Though written by a Dean, it is not by any means a mere ecclesiastical history. It is a history of the times, and is chiefly ecclesiastical, because the history of the Church was the main part of European history during the middle ages. But the history of the German Empire, of France, Spain, and England, and to some extent of the East also, is interwoven with the narrative. The descriptions of personal character, and the grouping of events, are excellent throughout. The narrative is rather devoted to the external events than to the inward life of the Church and the nations. The great controversy between the nominalists and realists is described only in general terms, in the way of literary reference rather than of thorough investigation. The estimate of Abelard's position and influence is well conceived, and it is justly suggested that he undoubtedly had a distinctive position between the extreme nominalism and realism. The controversies and different characteristics of the schools are most fully described in chapter III of the concluding Book, in the eighth volume, chiefly relying upon the authority of Ritter and Hauréau; but the author is evidently more at home in the narrative of external events and the estimate of the general culture, than in the metaphysical distinctions of the scholastic divines. The same book also gives valuable accounts of the art, literature, and popular beliefs and customs of the middle ages. Among the portions most fully elaborated, are the pontificate of Innocent III; the account of the Popes in Avignon; the history of the Lollard and of Wycliffe; and particularly the proceedings of the great reforming councils of the fifteenth century. It is of course impossible that all points should be fully elaborated in a work covering so much ground; but we are surprised not to find a discussion of the enigma of the Popess Joanna; nor to see any reference to the chief works (those of Thomassy and Rosen), in which the authenticity of the Pragmatic Sanction of Louis IX is contested, for though these are not convincing, they are much relied upon by the Ultramontane writers of France and Germany.

The history ends with the taking of Constantinople, and the pontificate of Nicolas V. The signs of the great Reformation are just beginning to appear. It is hardly to be expected that Dean Milman will carry on his work any further. But others may be led, by his high example and brilliant success, to describe the purification of the church, whose history is here told in so admirable a manner. No English work in Church history can, upon the whole, be rated before it.

The whole work is written in the spirit of the republic of letters, and not in that of the cloister, or of the schools. It is therefore well fitted for general reading and use, and it will find readers in literary circles, from which a professional church history would be excluded. It is a good omen for the

character of our reading public, that a work so solid and extensive should have already acquired so large a circulation. It ought to be found in all our public libraries.

In the contents of vol. III, p. 9, Damascus II should read Damasus II. On page 263 of the same volume, Dean Milman gives his sanction to the use of the word "infelt," speaking of the "infelt accordance with the dominant creed."

History of the United Netherlands, from the Death of William the Silent to the Synod of Dort. With a full view of the English-Dutch Struggle against Spain, and of the Origin and Destruction of the Spanish Armada. By JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY, LL.D., D.C.L. New York: Harpers. 1861. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 532, 563. These admirable volumes narrate the history of the closing events of that great struggle, in which the Protestantism of Europe was saved, and the Protestantism of this country cradled. The greatest power of Europe sought to extirpate a free nation of merchants and workmen, numbering about a million and a half. The history, as Mr. Motley well says, "is not exclusively the history of Holland. It is the story of the great combat between despotism, sacerdotal and regal, and the spirit of rational, human liberty. The tragedy opened in the Netherlands, and its main scenes were long enacted there; but as the ambition of Spain expanded, and as the resistance to the principle which she represented became more general, other nations were, of necessity, involved in the struggle. There came to be one country, the citizens of which were the Leaguers; and another country, whose inhabitants were Protestants. And in this lay the distinction between freedom and absolutism. The religious question swallowed all the others. There was never a period in the early history of the Dutch revolt when the Provinces would not have returned to their obedience, could they have been assured of enjoying liberty of conscience or religious peace; nor was there ever a single moment in Philip II's life in which he wavered in his fixed determination never to listen to such a claim. The quarrel was in its nature irreconcilable and eternal as the warfare between wrong and right; and the establishment of a comparative civil liberty in Europe and America was the result of the religious wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries."

William the Silent was dead. The Prince of Parma intrigued successfully in Brabant and Flanders for the Spanish cause. The Estates first sought the alliance of France; but found their effectual help in Protestant England. The history of this struggle is, then, the history of Europe in one of its great crises. And it is here narrated with such fulness and life as never before. The state of France, of Spain, of England, of Germany faithful to its trust, and the characters of all the great men of the times, are depicted not only in broad outline, but in minute description. The siege of Antwerp (of which a plan is given) and the great invasion and dispersion of the Invincible Armada are graphically described.

Mr. Motley loves definite portraiture. Here is his description of the Prince of Parma, whose sharp and resolute portrait greets us as we open the first volume. "He was never more truly heroic than in this position of vast entanglement. Untiring, uncomplaining, thoughtful of others, prodigal of himself, generous, modest, brave; with so much intellect, and so much devotion to what he considered his duty, he deserved to be a patriot and a champion of the right, rather than an instrument of despotism."

"And thus he paused for a moment—with much work already accomplished, but his hardest life-task before him; still in the noon of manhood, a fine martial figure, standing, spear in hand, full in the sunlight, though

all the scene around him was wrapped in gloom—a noble, commanding shape, entitled to the admiration which the energetic display of great powers, however unscrupulous, must always command. A dark, meridional physiognomy, a quick, alert, imposing head; jet black, close-clipped hair; a bold eagle's face, with full, bright, restless eye; a man rarely reposing, always ready, never alarmed; living in the saddle, with harness on his back—such was the Prince of Parma; matured and mellowed, but still unharmed by time."

Henry of Navarre, the hope of the Huguenots, is thus limned: "We see at once, a man of moderate stature, light, sinewy and strong; a face browned with continual exposure; small, mirthful, yet commanding blue eyes, glittering from beneath an arching brow, and prominent cheekbones; a long hawk's nose, almost resting upon a salient chin, a pendent moustache, and a thick, brown, curly beard, prematurely grizzled; we see the mien of frank authority and magnificent good humor, we hear the ready sallies of the shrewd Gascon mother-wit, we feel the electricity which flashes out of him, and sets all hearts around him on fire, when the trumpet sounds to battle. The headlong desperate charge, the snow-white plume waving where the fire is hottest, the large capacity for enjoyment of the man, rioting without affectation in the *certaminis gaudia*, the insane gallop, after the combat, to lay its trophies at the feet of the Cynthia of the minute, and thus to forfeit its fruits; all are as familiar to us as if the seven distinct wars, the hundred pitched battles, the two hundred sieges, in which the Béarnese was personally present, had been occurrences of our own day."

"Beneath the mask of perpetual careless good humor lurked the keenest eye, a subtle, restless, widely combining brain, and an iron will. Native sagacity had been tempered into consummate elasticity by the fiery atmosphere in which feebler natures had been dissolved. His wit was as flashing and as quickly unsheathed as his sword. Desperate, apparently reckless temerity on the battle-field, was deliberately indulged in, that the world might be brought to recognise a hero and chieftain in a king. The do-nothings of the Merovingian line had been succeeded by the Pepins; to the effete Carlovingians had come a Capet; to the impotent Valois should come a worthier descendant of St. Louis. This was shrewd Gascon calculation, aided by constitutional fearlessness. When despatch-writing, invisible Philips, star-gazing Rudolphs, and petticoated Henrys, sat upon the thrones of Europe, it was wholesome to show the world that there was a king left who could move about in the bustle and business of the age, and could charge as well as most soldiers at the head of his cavalry; that there was one more sovereign fit to reign over men, besides the glorious virgin who governed England."

And this is a portrait of the Virgin Queen: "She was then in the fifty-third year of her age, and considered herself in the full bloom of her beauty. Her garments were of satin and velvet, with fringes of pearl as big as beans. A small gold crown was upon her head, and her red hair, throughout its multiplicity of curls, blazed with diamonds and emeralds. Her forehead was tall, her face long, her complexion fair, her eyes small, dark and glittering, her nose high and hooked, her lips thin, her teeth black, her bosom white and liberally exposed. As she passed through the ante-chamber to the presence-hall, supplicants presented petitions upon their knees. Wherever she glanced, all prostrated themselves upon the ground. The cry of 'Long live Queen Elizabeth' was spontaneous and perpetual; the reply, 'I thank you, my good people,' was constant and cordial. She

spoke to various foreigners in their respective languages, being mistress, besides the Latin and Greek, of French, Spanish, Italian, and German. As the commissioners were presented to her by Lord Buckhurst, it was observed that she was perpetually gloving and ungloving, as if to attract attention to her hand, which was esteemed a wonder of beauty. She spoke French with purity and elegance, but with a drawling, somewhat affected accent, saying '*Paar maa foi; paar le Dieu vivaant*,' and so forth, in a style which was ridiculed by Parisians, as she sometimes, to her extreme annoyance, discovered."

The whole account of the negotiations with England, of Leicester's magnificent reception in Holland, and assumption of the Governor-generalship; of the negotiations for peace; of the vast preparations of Spain for the attack on England, and of the fate of the expedition, is minute and vivid, and much of it derived from new sources. Mr. Motley has made diligent explorations; and unites in a rare degree the power of patient investigation with the faculty of vivid representation. This new work will increase his brilliant reputation as a historian. His style is more chastened and mellow, without losing warmth of coloring. Parts of the narrative are in disproportionate excess of treatment; but these are the parts in which there is the most positive addition to historical knowledge. On both sides of the Atlantic these volumes have been greeted with high literary homage. They embrace the period from 1584 to 1590; two more volumes will carry it down to the Synod of Dort.

Besides the intrinsic merit of the volumes, as a rare specimen of the historic art, the fervid zeal of the author in behalf of civil and religious liberty has contributed to their wide popularity. He writes with an intense sympathy for the victims (who were to become the victors) of ecclesiastical and civil oppression. His enthusiasm inspires also his readers. The brilliant narrative is worthy of the high theme, and the theme exalts the narrative. Mr. Motley's sympathies are distinctively and thoroughly Protestant; though a Protestant, he evidently does not fully sympathise with the Genevan creed; but yet, that severe faith was at the basis of the heroism of the Netherlands. This point is not made as prominent as historic justice requires; too much is attributed to political and national motives and intrigues. There is, now and then, a slight thrust against Calvinism, as in the otherwise admirable portraiture of Olden Barneveld and Philip de Marnix, Lord of Sainte Aldegonde, burgomaster of Antwerp. He caricatures the belief in future punishment (as if it were exclusively Calvinistic); calls Barneveld a "liberal Christian," hardly such in the New England sense we suppose; and intimates efforts of De Marnix to raise himself above his early creed. The grounds of this last we do not know, for Sainte Aldegonde was undoubtedly thoroughly Calvinistic; he was a member of the Antwerp Synod of 1566, which adopted the Belgic Confession, one of the most orthodox of symbols. The subsequent portions of this history, particularly when it comes to the times of the Synod of Dort, will demand further statements on these topics; and we hope to find the author doing as much justice to the religious convictions, as he does to the national heroism and love of liberty, of the people of the United Netherlands.

We need hardly add, that the Harpers have issued these volumes in their usual attractive and excellent style of typography. A portrait of the Prince of Parma is prefixed to the first volume, and one of the Earl of Leicester to the second.

Life among the Chinese: with Characteristic Sketches and Incidents of Missionary Operations and Prospects in China. By Rev. R. S. MACLAY, M.A. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1861. Pp. 400. It is now fourteen years since the Methodists of this country established their mission in China. The Rev. Mr. Maclay, connected with it from the beginning, has given in this work an excellent, simple, and most interesting account of the Chinese people, and of missionary operations among them. About half of the work is taken up with the native history, government, and religions, presenting in a concise form all the main facts. The details of missionary life and methods are instructive, and show the zeal with which he and his associates entered upon their work. The population Mr. M. estimates at 400,000,000. His estimation of the capacity of the Chinese is high: "The Chinese mind is eminently quick, shrewd, and practical. It has an intuitive logic of rare vigor and certainty. Admit the premises in the argument of a Chinese, and his conclusion is generally inevitable. In their processes of ratiocination the defect is usually in the premises."

"As business men they are remarkably energetic, efficient, and adroit. The foreign merchant, whether European or American, who goes to China for business purposes, finds it necessary to avail himself of all the helps and safeguards which his own judgment or the principles of trade suggest in order to protect himself; and it not unfrequently happens, that after all his precautionary efforts, he is over-reached by his unscrupulous competitor. The Yankee must rise early in the morning and keep wide awake all day if he expects to get to windward of a Chinaman before nightfall."

Thieving is a characteristic propensity; and the Chinese thieves are "as expert as any in the world." "Lying seems to be universal. Everybody lies; parents to children and children to parents; masters to servants and servants to masters; sellers to buyers and buyers to sellers; subjects to government and government to subjects. A man's word is never taken in business affairs; no tradesman will consider any arrangement or contract binding unless what is called 'bargain money' has been tendered and accepted; and no agreement is considered valid until it is written out and signed by the parties in the presence of witnesses. In the administration of government you meet with the most unscrupulous mendacity. The people lie to the constable, the constable to the squire, the squire to the sheriff, the sheriff to the governor, the governor to the privy council, and the privy council to the emperor. We might truthfully designate the entire system of government administration in China one stupendous lie."

The entire number of Protestant missionaries in China, to 1859, had been 213, beginning with Dr. Bridgman, the first on the main land, in 1830. Great difficulties have hindered the progress of the work; but the Providence of God is opening the way. Mr. Maclay's earnest, closing appeal is worthy of devout consideration.

The Ordeal of Free Labor in the British West Indies. By WM. G. SEWELL. New York: Harpers. 1861. Pp. 325. This opportune work, originally written in the form of Letters to the *New-York Times*, gives a candid and favorable estimate of the results of emancipation in the British West Indies, viz., the Windward Islands, Trinidad, the Leeward Islands, and Jamaica. Even from the "imperfections and shortcomings of Jamaica," "the superior economy of free labor, as compared with slave labor can be demonstrated." It is cheaper to the master. As the result of his own investigation, and of the testimony of Governor Hicks, the author shows, that in Cuba the cost of slave labor in the production of sugar is 3

cents a pound; in Jamaica, under the slave system it was over 4½ cents; in free Jamaica, it is 2 cents, and in Trinidad and Barbadoes it is still less. And "if free labor be tested by any other gauge than that of sugar production, its success in the West Indies is established beyond all cavil." The author, too, shows, we think, successfully, that the depreciation of the commerce of Jamaica can be directly traced to other causes than the introduction of freedom. As to all the other colonies, there is no question of the beneficial results of emancipation. The work is instructive and convincing.

PHILOSOPHY.

Rational Psychology; or, the Subjective Idea and Objective Law of all Intelligence. By LAURENS P. HICKOK, D.D., Union College. A New and Revised Edition. New York: Ivison, Phinney & Co. 1861. 8vo. Pp. 548. It is now twelve years since the publication of the first edition of Dr. Hickok's *Rational Psychology*. It was then greeted by a few persons as the most important contribution to metaphysical science produced in the English tongue during the present century; by many it was regarded with distrust and doubt; and not a few declared that they did not know what to make of it. Not only was the terminology new to them, but they could not see what business anybody had to be discussing the *à priori* conditions of all intelligence—enough for them the *à posteriori* road to knowledge. Since this work was published, Great Britain has given us four books on metaphysics: Ferrier's *Institute*, Mansel's *Metaphysics* (from the *Encyclopædia Britannica*), Hamilton's *Lectures*, and lastly Macmahon's *Metaphysics and Revealed Religion*. Whatever may be the merits of these works, it is not unjust to them to say, that in no one of them is the fundamental metaphysical inquiry, viz., the universal conditions and necessity of all thought, so distinctly apprehended, and resolutely and systematically carried through, as in this work of Dr. Hickok. He has undoubtedly gone to the heart of the matter, and knows what he is talking about. And he uses technical terms—and such there must be in this as in all science, with constant adherence to his own conceptions and definitions. His style requires study, but chiefly because his thoughts require study. Even where we may be inclined to differ from him in some points of his method, or as to the accuracy of his demonstrations, we need not be at a loss to know what the method and arguments really are and mean.

As an introduction to the study of German philosophy the treatise is invaluable. Dr. Hickok is one of the very few writers in the English language, who have really shown that they understood the principles and problems of the German systems. And not only so, but he has also been able to turn their method into the service of faith. Several of the most important and profound parts of this volume are those in which he derives some of the great underlying points and principles of the Christian system from the postulates of the transcendental philosophy. Following to some extent Kant's method, he arrives at positive, instead of negative, results, as to the valid being of the Soul, the World, God and Immortality, and this too on purely rational grounds. He thus avoids the hiatus which Kant left between the pure and the practical reason.

Of all the charges made against Dr. Hickok, that of a pantheistic tendency is the most gratuitous and unjust. It only shows, that such critics neither understand Dr. Hickok nor pantheism.

We welcome this new and improved edition, as an evidence that thinking minds are grappling with these problems, and beginning to be made familiar with them even in their academical career. No one can study the book without thorough advantage. This edition is improved, not in its general method, but in some details and applications, as in the proof of the valid being of what belongs to the sense and the understanding; in the statements about substance, cause, and force; and in the demonstration of a pure act of creation for the production of finite being. It is published in a more convenient form, and in excellent style.

The Christian Element in Plato and the Platonic Philosophy. By Dr. C. ACKERMANN, Archdeacon at Jena. Translated from the German by SAMUEL RALPH ASBURY: with an Introductory Note by W. G. T. Shedd, D.D. Edinburgh: 1861. Philadelphia: Smith, English & Co. Pp. 280. From the earliest times of Christian history, there has been recognised a spiritual affinity between the Platonic philosophy and Christian theology. Christian apologists have made use of this phenomenon to confirm the argument for Christianity; heretics have made use of it, to ascribe to Platonism the doctrines which they impugned; and infidels have made use of it, to enfeeble the evidence for a specific revelation. The points of resemblance have been, for the most part, stated in a fragmentary and isolated way, in reference to particular doctrines, as the Trinity, Incarnation, etc. The object of Dr. Ackermann's most interesting and able volume, is a comparison of the respective systems, rather than of detached parts of the systems. Both are pervaded by a spiritual, a supersensible element. Both have in view the salvation or redemption of mankind from the dominion of the finite and sinful. Both are therefore theological, looking to an end to be realized by mankind, and in this respect, Platonism stands in a much higher position than any other system of antiquity. And as there is an end (a final cause) to be realised, so there must be a wise author of the world who planned, and is carrying out, this consummation. Both find the necessity for this redemption in the sinfulness (not the mere sins) and ignorance of man. Both put this redemption in a reconciliation of man with the divine, and see in this reconciliation the restoration of man to himself, the realization of the pristine idea of humanity. And both say, that this redemption can be effected only through heavenly powers, only by divine ideas. And both recognise a kingdom in which this is to be effected, which Plato calls a republic, and Christianity calls the Church.

But on the other hand, there are such differences between the two systems, as serve to show that Christianity is not borrowed from Platonism, and that Platonism even on these points of agreement is conjectural, and unsystematic. We are apt to read Plato by the aid of Christian ideas. Plato does not make the great end to be realised a specifically holy end—he knew not holiness as a divine attribute. The deliverance he anticipates is not a deliverance from the power or penalty of a holy law, so much as a deliverance from error and the thralldom of the senses. The regeneration he has in view is philosophic, rather than truly spiritual. Of propitiation and atonement he knows nothing. Neither a proper Trinity nor Incarnation is found in his speculations. And his republic, ruled by philosophers, is essentially different from the church of the redeemed.

The value of Dr. Ackermann's work is in setting forth these points of resemblance and contrast in a lucid and philosophical manner. Though written twenty-five years ago, it has not been superseded even in Germany. It is a work of profound interest to every Christian student, to all who are

interested either in the history of philosophy or of Christianity. The study of such a work, in its bearings on philosophic culture and thought, can result only in good. The translation appears to be well executed. Its value would have been increased by the addition of notes from the criticisms of Ritter and Nitzsch, (in the *Studien und Kritiken*), and especially from the volume of the late Dr. Baur, on the Christian Element of Platonism, or Socrates and Christ, which was published in 1837, and contains a thorough examination of the whole subject. We notice the advertisement of a new work on this topic by a Roman Catholic writer, F. Michelis, "The Philosophy of Plato in its Internal Relation to Revealed Truth, critically digested from the Sources." Part 2d. 1861.

The Elements of Logic. By CHARLES K. TRUE, D.D. Revised edition. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1861. Pp. 176. The first edition of Dr. True's *Logic* was published in 1840; the present, in a revised form, contains some new matter, particularly a valuable essay on the Philosophy of Induction, discussing the opinions of Whewell, Mill, Hume, and others, and successfully establishing, against Mill, the position, that the ultimate principle in the case is intuitive, and not itself derived from induction. The work is intended for beginners, and in this point of view has obvious merits, in its clear and simple statements, and its abundance of examples. Based upon the treatise of Archbishop Whately, it presents logic simply as the science of the syllogism, without entering into the questions and discussions which have recently been raised, and with which it is needless to perplex the minds of beginners.

Rudiments of Public Speaking and Debate; or Hints on the Application of Logic. By G. J. HOLYOAKE. Revised by L. D. Barrows. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1861. Pp. 230. The same publishers have brought out this English work, with an Appendix, containing Henry Rogers' well-known article on Sacred Eloquence, as seen in the *British Pulpit*, from the *North British Review*; and an Introduction, earnestly exhibiting the need, especially among ministers, of a more thorough study of the principles of public speaking. The work of Mr. Holyoake, without being a regular scientific treatise, contains much matter to stimulate and direct thought, under the three divisions of the Derivative, the Acquired, and the Applied Powers, of the orator. We might criticise some particulars in the arrangement and distribution of the topics; but the object of the book is rather to exhibit deficiencies, and to give practical hints and suggestions, than to set forth rhetoric in the forms and terms of a system. Large extracts are made from other authors; and there is an abundance of anecdote and illustration, so that the interest need not flag. The author's own style is occasionally somewhat rough, and his constructions unusual; but there is also much of pertinent and forcible criticism. We cannot say much in praise of the philosophy or religion of Mr. Holyoake.

The Limits of Exact Science as applied to History. An Inaugural Lecture delivered before the University of Cambridge. By the Rev. CHARLES KINGSLEY, M.A. Cambridge and London. 1860. Mr. Kingsley has made a good use of the occasion, presented by his induction into the chair of modern history at Cambridge, in uttering this earnest and eloquent protest against explaining history by the laws and methods of the so-called exact sciences. Though the title is more definite than the treatment, yet many forcible objections are urged against the claims and pretensions of the positivists, with particular reference to the positions taken in the *Westminster Review*

in its recent article on Neo-Christianity. If we "wish to understand history," he says, "we must first try to understand men and women." Though history obeys certain laws, these are not physical alone or chiefly, but moral, providential, religious. Its immutabilities are the laws of everlasting justice. Man breaks every day the sequences of nature. The predominance of mere physical laws is negated by the fact of freedom; by the fact that there are fools in the world, not only "imbecile and obstructive" fools, but also "ferocious and dangerous" ones; by the fact of human reason guiding nations; by the fact, that geniuses come up now and then, no one can tell how or why, for no one can give us "a science of great men;" by the power of moral law and the fact of moral retribution; by an overruling Providence, for God is educating and guiding the race, and Providence is not only "over-ruling," it is "under-ruling," "around-ruling," "in-ruling," also. In history, nature is not to conquer, it is *to be conquered*. In the concluding part of the address he refers to prejudices against him, in "the minds of better men" than he is, "on account of certain early writings of mine. That prejudice, I trust, with God's help, I shall be able to dissipate." Incidentally he alludes to Dr. Temple's Essay on the Education of the World (in the *Essays and Reviews*) as inadequate, since the laws for the education of the individual are not sufficient to give a theory of the education of the race; and "between the education of the one and the other there is simply the difference between a man and a God."

Twelve Sermons: delivered at Antioch College. By HORACE MANN. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1861. Pp. 314. It is very possible that ministers, when they write popular lectures, are apt to foist into them the style of the pulpit: and it is equally possible, that when laymen write sermons they may involuntarily write an essay or a lecture instead. The late President of Antioch College did not escape this contingency of laymen. His Sermons are addresses; and the appended meditations, in the form of prayers, are rather exhortations or essays than petitions. In one of these prayers, for example, is this sentence: "If one class of these gifts is such as an Infinite Father would give us, the other is such as an Infinite Mother would give." These "Sermons" are chiefly upon moral duties, and contain faithful instruction and earnest warnings. There are many passages of marked vigor and popular effectiveness. But the doctrinal facts and truths of Christianity are, for the most part, reduced to the standard of moral lessons. The old mystics allegorized Scripture; modern reformers sometimes go to the other extreme, and 'moralize' Scripture.

The main idea, running through these addresses, is, that the moral law, under God's government, is binding and supreme. And yet, one of the main defects of the volume, theologically, is in its statements as to what the moral law is, and especially as to its sanctions. Natural law and moral law are confounded: moral law is reduced to the statements, by which natural laws alone can be defined. "Law merely signifies the manner in which God acts;" moral law, as much as physical, it is every where implied, consists simply in a certain sequence. Punishment, in the case of sin, is simply the sequence of the sin. To remove this sequence, we need only, and we must, remove the sin. No guilt or penalty then remains. Atonement for guilt by another, by Christ, must therefore be a fiction, in the sphere of morals, just as much as it would be in the sphere of physical nature. Such is the general theory of this volume, as it is of many other volumes. And it is disproved by the fact, that moral law and physical law are so distinct, that they cannot be defined by the same radical ideas. Physical law is simply a sequence of cause and effect; but moral law is the

expression of an eternal idea—it is rectitude embodied in the form of command, with appropriate sanctions. As physical law cannot thus be defined, so moral law cannot be defined by the mere idea of sequence. And hence all analogies and reasonings from the one to the other are inconclusive and illogical. To identify the two in definition is to introduce entire confusion into both ethics and theology.

PRACTICAL RELIGIOUS LITERATURE.

Select Sermons of the Rev. WORTHINGTON SMITH, D.D., late President of the University of Vermont. *With a Memoir of his Life,* by Rev. Joseph Torrey, D.D. Andover. 1861. Pp. 368. President Smith was born in Hadley, Mass., Oct. 11, 1795, was a graduate of Williams College in 1816, studied theology at Andover, was pastor of the church at St. Albans, Vt., for twenty-seven years, President of the University of Vermont at Burlington for six years, from 1849 to 1855, and died at St. Albans Feb. 13, 1856. He was a wise and prudent man, in speech and action. His administration of the affairs of his college contributed to its usefulness and prosperity. He secured to an unusual extent the confidence and esteem of all who knew him. The Memoir of Dr. Torrey is an affectionate and just tribute to his character and influence. This volume is a fitting tribute to his memory. The Sermons here published show how a wise thinker can use a truly spiritual philosophy in the maintenance of the essential truths of the Christian faith. Less brilliant than those of President Mahan, they appeal to a much deeper spiritual experience; the former are superficial when contrasted with the latter. Let any one read Dr. Smith's discourses on Conscience, on the Moral Government of the World, on the Law broken by a Single Offence, and on the Gospel true to the Moral Convictions of Men (to say nothing of those on more direct evangelical themes), and he will see how a true theory of conscience and the law leads to Christ and redemption, in contrast with Mr. Mann's mode of handling these themes, so as to substitute morals for religion. The last discourse, on Life, as Related to the Seen and the Unseen, is an impressive exhibition of the subject.

Half-Century Sermons. By JOHN WOODBRIDGE, D.D. Northampton. 1861. Pp. 35. These two discourses were preached in the First Church in Hadley, on occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the venerable author's ordination as Pastor of that church. They are an instructive review of a ministry, whose influence has been felt far beyond the bounds of that quiet and beautiful parish. Dr. Woodbridge's testimony to the efficacy and necessity of preaching the great doctrines of the Gospel in a plain and consistent manner is enforced by the fruitful experience of his useful and honored life.

The Life of Trust: being a Narrative of the Lord's Dealings with GEORGE MÜLLER, written by himself. Revised and condensed by Rev. H. L. WAYLAND. With an introduction by Francis Wayland. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1861. Pp. 490. The power of simple faith, that faith which *worketh* by love, is strikingly illustrated in these memorials of a most self-denying, benevolent, prayerful, and active life. Müller was born in Kroppenstädt, Prussia, 1805. Vicious in youth, he was reformed in the university of Halle, where he came under the influence of Tholuck. He devoted himself to a missionary life; but his

mission was to be in England, building up the Ashley Down Orphan-houses in Bristol, by faith, prayer, and works. He began these in 1835, and has instructed 13,124 pupils; circulated over 42,000 Bibles and Testaments, over 11,000,000 tracts and books; erected two large buildings, and is now erecting a third, at an expense of more than 650,000 dollars; and yet he never solicited a penny for any of these objects. And he relates many wonderful facts to show that answers to his prayers, in the way of contributions, came at just the right moment. The book abounds in such instances as the following:

"This is perhaps, of all days, the most remarkable as yet, so far as it regards the funds. When I was in prayer this morning respecting them, I was enabled firmly to believe that the Lord would send help, though all seemed dark as to natural appearances. At twelve o'clock I met as usual with the brethren and sisters for prayer. There had come in only one shilling, which was left last evening anonymously at the Infant Orphan-House, and which, except twopence, had already been spent on account of the great need. Lower we had never been, and perhaps never so low. We gave ourselves now unitedly to prayer, laying the case in simplicity before the Lord. Whilst in prayer, there was a knock at the door, and one of the sisters went out. After the two brethren who labor in the Orphan-Houses and I had prayed aloud, we continued for a while silently in prayer. As to myself, I was lifting up my heart to the Lord to make a way for our escape, and in order to know if there were any other thing which I could do with a good conscience, besides waiting on him, so that we might have food for the children. At last we rose from our knees. I said: 'God will surely send help.' The words had not quite passed over my lips when I perceived a letter lying on the table, which had been brought whilst we were in prayer. It was from my wife, containing another letter from a brother with ten pounds for the orphans. The evening before last I was asked by a brother whether the balance in hand for the orphans would be as great this time, when the accounts would be made up, as the last time. My answer was, that it would be as great as the Lord pleased. The next morning this brother was moved to remember the orphans, and to send to-day ten pounds, which arrived after I had left my house, and which, on account of our need, was forwarded immediately to me."

So far as such cases illustrate the power of prayer, and the fact of answers to fervent petitions, they are in accordance with the general experience of Christians. But so far as they seem intended to change, as Dr. Wayland suggests, the whole economy of our benevolent operations, we think that the facts are unwisely interpreted. We cannot see why it is not just as Christian, and just as trustful, to ask a brother directly to help us in good works, as it is to solicit him by letting him know that we have asked the Lord to induce him to help us. If we may ask the Lord to help us, why may we not ask a brother also? And may not the answer to our petition to the Lord, sometimes depend upon our also asking others? Then, again, if we may ask others to help us in work, why may we not also ask them to help us with money? Many can give the money who cannot give the work. Besides, though there may be cases of marked individuality, like Müller, who can go on and do a great and good work alone, without the aid and care of an organisation, such cases are simply exceptional, and for limited branches of benevolent activity. The more expanded works of charity require organisation and strict responsibility. Let us then derive all the good we can from the memorials of such a self-denying life, without being led astray by its partial theories.

A Memorial of Closing Scenes in the Life of Rev. GEORGE B. LITTLE. Riverside Press: H. O. Houghton, Cambridge, 1861. The subject of this beautiful Memorial was born in Castine, Me., Dec. 21, 1821; was a graduate of Bowdoin College in 1843, and of Andover Theological Seminary in 1849; was pastor of a church in Bangor until 1857, and then of one at West-Newton, Mass.; visited France for a brief period in 1860; and died in Roxbury, Mass., July 20th, after a long decline, illumined by the brightness of the Christian faith. This tribute to his memory, prepared with pious care by some of his nearest friends, is simple and truthful. It is not so much a biography as a record of Christian experience and character. To the numerous personal friends, and the parishioners of Mr. Little, it will vividly recall his eminent worth as a man, a scholar, a preacher, and a Christian. He was enthusiastic in his profession, and in his love of all good learning. Easily taking a high place, he seemed marked out for distinction among scholars; but his life was spent in the pulpit, which was made attractive by his clear, effective, and eloquent advocacy of the truth. His Christian experience, through many struggles, led him to a profounder sense of sin, and a simpler faith in Christ. The record of the closing scenes of his life is full of deep interest. This Memorial is beautifully printed. A striking likeness of Mr. Little will lead all who look upon it to wish to know more about that thoughtful and animated face. May many, besides his personal friends, gather comfort and strength from this instructive narrative of the uneventful life of a true Christian scholar and minister.

Little Footprints in Bible Lands. By J. H. VINCENT. With introduction by Rev. J. M. EDDY, D.D. New York: Carlton & Porter. Pp. 139. Biblical History and Geography are here taught in a novel and ingenious manner for the use of "Palestine Classes" and Sabbath-schools, by questions and answers, abundant pictures, maps, and songs. In some of the latter the names of places and rivers are set to music to help the memory. The method of such teaching is expounded in the Sixth Part. A full Gazetteer and Index conclude the book.

Leaves that Never Fade; or, Records of Divine Teaching and Help. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1861. 18mo. Pp. 143. A series of devout and profitable meditations on various themes, suggested by poems, verses of hymns, and texts of Scripture.

Words for the Hour. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1861. Suitable words of exhortation for the Christian soldier in the time of war.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

Harper's Greek and Latin Texts. Nothing so beautiful and accurate in the way of Greek and Latin Texts has been produced in this country as this series of the Harpers; nor are the corresponding English and German works in any wise superior to them, nor yet so cheap. They are published at the uniform rate of 40 cents a volume. The whole of Virgil for 40 cents, in clear type, excellent paper, and nice, flexible binding! Horace and Æschylus at the same rate; Euripides is in 3 volumes, Thucydides in two, and Herodotus in two. Virgil is edited by Prof. Conington

of Oxford; Horace, by A. J. Maclean; Herodotus, with an Index of Proper Names, by J. W. Blakesley; Æschylus and Euripides, by F. A. Paley, with Indices; Thucydides, by J. G. Donaldson, with an Index. Cæsar, Sallust, Sophocles, Xenophon's Anabasis, Cicero De Senectute, and De Amicitia, and other works are in preparation. The Harpers deserve the thanks of all scholars for these serviceable and excellent editions. We hope that they may become pocket-companions with our collegiate and theological scholars.

Silas Marner, the Weaver of Raveloe. By the Author of "Adam Bede," etc. New York: Harpers. 1861. Pp. 265. In the translator of Strauss's Life of Christ, and of Feuerbach's Essence of Christianity—two of the most destructive pantheistic books of the century, who would have expected to find the sharpest delineator of scenes and characters in the humblest lot of human life, with a marked fondness for describing religious struggles and experience? But this transition from pantheistic abstractions to homely realities is in the nature of things, and exemplified in many other instances. George Elliot's (Marian Evans) novels are wholly of the realistic order (in the empirical sense of realism); and they are of the highest order of patient and truthful elaboration, yet without any artificial polish. Silas Marner, as a whole, is not equal to either Adam Bede or the Mill on the Floss; its two parts are disproportioned, and the plan of the author hardly seems to have been fully carried out. But it is a work of deep interest. The psychology is acute and natural, though concealed. It was a kind Providence that sent little Effie to take the place of Silas Marner's money-bags, and gave him human love instead of the love of gold; but does the book also mean to teach that human love is to supplant religious trust?

Trumps. A Novel. By GEORGE WM. CURTIS. Splendidly illustrated by Augustus Hoppin. New York: Harpers. 1861. Pp. 502. The author of "The Potiphar Papers" has lost nothing of his talent for describing fashionable society, and satirising fashionable follies. He is one of the few American writers who have made the scenes of novels, with their locality in New York, at once entertaining and natural. This work is written with talent. The characters are well drawn, and the movement spirited. It contains an exposure and rebuke of that fashionable pride and money-making, which rely only on external success. It is rather the outside of life, its superficial aspects, which are here delineated—in striking contrast with the work of Marian Evans. The illustrations by Hoppin are capital. The book is issued in very handsome style.

The Wits and Beaux of Society. By GRACE AND PHILIP WHARTON. With Illustrations from Drawings by H. K. Browne and James Godwin. Engraved by the Brothers Dalzel. New York: Harpers. 1861. Pp. 481. This volume is a side-piece to the "Queens of Society." The lives of the Wits and Beaux of courts and fashionable life, Buckingham, De Grammont, Lord Rochester, Fielding, Lord Hervey, Beau Nash, Beau Brummell, afford little that can be edifying—excepting the sad moral derived from the contemplation of their perversion of brilliant talents. Their lives are hardly redeemed even by any noble human sympathies or sentiments. Of a higher order is the genuine wit of Chesterfield, Walpole, Sheridan, and Sydney Smith. The volume is enlivened by abundance of anecdote; and the narrative is simple and unpretentious. As the only tolerable collection of the kind, the

work has its place and worth in the illustration of the morals and manners of a class which a higher and more earnest culture will disown or transform.

The Breath of Life; or, Mal-Respiration and its Effects upon the Enjoyments and Life of Man. By GEO. CATLIN. John Wiley, New York. 1861. 8vo. Pp. 76. The author of the well-known work upon the North American Indians here presents himself as a medical discoverer, intent upon remedying the evils that afflict the race. His grand remedy is found in three words, "*Shut-your-mouth*," to be "engraved in every *Nursery*, and on every *Bed-post* in the universe." While the author manifestly exaggerates the importance of his discovery—made among the Indians, and tested by himself, yet no possible harm could come from giving the prescription a fair trial. The volume is at least entertaining; and the illustrations are spirited and effective.

News of the Churches and of Missions.

STATISTICS—UNITED STATES.

The Census of 1860.

FREE STATES AND TERRITORIES.

| | 1850. | 1860. | Increase. |
|--------------------|------------|------------|-----------|
| Maine..... | 583,169 | 619,959 | 36,789 |
| New-Hampshire... | 317,976 | 336,072 | 8,096 |
| Vermont..... | 314,130 | 315,827 | 1,707 |
| Massachusetts..... | 994,514 | 1,231,434 | 236,920 |
| Rhode Island..... | 147,545 | 174,621 | 27,076 |
| Connecticut..... | 370,792 | 460,670 | 89,878 |
| New-York..... | 3,077,394 | 3,551,563 | 754,169 |
| New-Jersey..... | 489,333 | 676,164 | 187,751 |
| Pennsylvania..... | 2,511,786 | 2,916,018 | 604,232 |
| Ohio..... | 1,880,427 | 2,377,917 | 397,490 |
| Michigan..... | 397,664 | 754,291 | 356,627 |
| Indiana..... | 988,416 | 1,350,802 | 362,386 |
| Illinois..... | 851,470 | 1,691,238 | 839,768 |
| Wisconsin..... | 305,391 | 768,486 | 463,094 |
| Iowa..... | 192,214 | 682,003 | 489,789 |
| California..... | 92,597 | 384,779 | 292,173 |
| Oregon..... | 13,294 | 52,566 | 39,272 |
| Minnesota..... | 6,077 | 172,793 | 166,616 |
| Kansas..... | ... | 143,645 | 143,645 |
| Nebraska..... | ... | 28,893 | 28,893 |
| Utah..... | 11,354 | 50,000 | 38,646 |
| Dakota..... | ... | 4,839 | 4,839 |
| Washington..... | ... | 11,624 | 11,624 |
| | 13,465,533 | 19,046,173 | 5,580,650 |

It will be seen from this that New-York is still the first State in the Union, but that Illinois has grown more rapidly than New-York during the last ten years. In several of the Western States the population has more than doubled in ten years, and in one, Iowa, has nearly quadrupled. There has been no positive decrease of population in any, although in several of the New-England States it is nearly stationary.

The same remark may be made of the slave States, as this table shows:

SLAVE STATES.

| | 1850. | 1860. | Increase. |
|---------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Delaware..... | 80,243 | 110,548 | 30,305 |
| Maryland..... | 492,666 | 946,133 | 453,467 |
| Virginia..... | 949,133 | 1,067,373 | 118,240 |
| North-Carolina..... | 580,491 | 679,965 | 99,474 |
| South-Carolina..... | 283,523 | 308,186 | 24,663 |
| Georgia..... | 524,503 | 615,336 | 90,833 |
| Florida..... | 48,135 | 81,885 | 33,750 |
| Alabama..... | 424,779 | 520,444 | 95,665 |
| Mississippi..... | 296,648 | 407,051 | 110,403 |
| Louisiana..... | 272,963 | 354,245 | 81,282 |
| Texas..... | 154,431 | 415,799 | 261,368 |
| Kansas..... | 162,797 | 331,710 | 168,913 |
| Tennessee..... | 751,154 | 850,523 | 99,369 |
| Kentucky..... | 771,494 | 920,077 | 148,583 |
| Missouri..... | 594,622 | 1,085,595 | 490,973 |
| Dist. Columbia..... | 48,000 | 75,331 | 27,331 |
| New-Mexico..... | 61,547 | 93,024 | 31,477 |
| | 6,522,048 | 8,602,470 | 2,080,422 |

Texas and Missouri have grown the most rapidly of all the slave States. South-Carolina, Florida, and Delaware are nearly stationary; and North-Carolina, Tennessee, and Louisiana have not advanced with great rapidity. As to the slave-growth, we have the following:

SLAVE POPULATION.

| | 1850. | 1860. | Decrease. | Increase. |
|---------------------|-----------|---------------|-----------|-----------|
| Delaware..... | 2,290 | 1,505 | 785 | .... |
| Maryland..... | 90,368 | 35,382 | 54,986 | .... |
| Virginia..... | 472,528 | 465,826 | .... | 23,298 |
| North-Carolina..... | 288,643 | 328,377 | .... | 39,829 |
| South-Carolina..... | 344,984 | 407,185 | .... | 22,201 |
| Georgia..... | 381,682 | 467,471 | .... | 85,779 |
| Florida..... | 39,309 | 64,809 | .... | 24,500 |
| Alabama..... | 342,892 | 435,463 | .... | 92,571 |
| Mississippi..... | 309,878 | 479,607 | .... | 169,729 |
| Louisiana..... | 244,809 | 312,186 | .... | 67,377 |
| Texas..... | 58,161 | 184,956 | .... | 126,795 |
| Arkansas..... | 47,100 | 109,063 | .... | 61,963 |
| Tennessee..... | 239,460 | 277,112 | .... | 47,652 |
| Kentucky..... | 310,991 | 325,400 | .... | 14,419 |
| Missouri..... | 67,422 | 115,619 | .... | 23,197 |
| Dist. Columbia..... | 3,687 | (No returns.) | .... | .... |
| | 3,203,999 | 3,999,853 | 55,771 | 148,375 |

In Delaware and Maryland alone has there been a decrease—that in Maryland so large that in another ten years, at the same rate, the slaves will be gone altogether. In Delaware there will be few left. In Missouri there has been a small positive increase; but compared with the white population, which has doubled, an enormous relative decrease. Slavery is nearly stationary in North-Carolina, South-Carolina, Kentucky, and Tennessee. In those States it grows only a few thousand a year. An emancipation of this increment alone would speedily extinguish the system in all the border States, without much loss to any body, and an immense general gain.

The slave States have gained in ten years about two millions of whites, and the free States more than five millions. New-York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio contain as many white people as all the slave States together.

FUGITIVE SLAVES.

The number of fugitive slaves reported by the census of 1860 was 803, against 1,011 as reported by the census of 1850. The official figures are as follows:

| STATES. | CENSUS OF 1860. | | | CENSUS OF 1850. | | |
|----------------------|-----------------|------------|--------|-----------------|------------|--------|
| | Slaves. | Fugitives. | One in | Slaves. | Fugitives. | One in |
| Alabama,..... | 435,132 | 36 | 12,087 | 342,844 | 29 | 11,822 |
| Arkansas,..... | 111,104 | 28 | 3,968 | 47,100 | 21 | 2,224 |
| Delaware,..... | 1,789 | 12 | 150 | 2,290 | 26 | 88 |
| Florida,..... | 61,733 | 11 | 5,614 | 39,310 | 18 | 2,184 |
| Georgia,..... | 462,230 | 23 | 20,096 | 381,682 | 89 | 4,288 |
| Kentucky,..... | 325,490 | 119 | 1,895 | 210,981 | 96 | 2,198 |
| Louisiana,..... | 332,620 | 46 | 7,338 | 244,809 | 90 | 2,720 |
| Maryland,..... | 87,188 | 115 | 758 | 90,368 | 279 | 324 |
| Mississippi,..... | 436,696 | 68 | 6,422 | 300,878 | 41 | 7,558 |
| Missouri,..... | 114,965 | 99 | 1,161 | 87,422 | 60 | 1,457 |
| North-Carolina,..... | 351,198 | 61 | 5,863 | 288,548 | 64 | 4,508 |
| South-Carolina,..... | 402,541 | 23 | 17,501 | 384,884 | 16 | 24,061 |
| Tennessee,..... | 275,784 | 29 | 9,509 | 239,459 | 70 | 3,421 |
| Texas,..... | 180,388 | 16 | 11,374 | 58,161 | 29 | 2,005 |
| Virginia,..... | 490,887 | 117 | 4,195 | 473,628 | 83 | 5,693 |
| | 3,949,657 | 803 | 4,918 | 3,200,364 | 1011 | 3,165 |

The Immigration of 1860.—The whole number reported by the Commissioners of Immigration, for 1860 (to Dec. 27), is 103,621, who brought with them \$7,875,196. Of these 46,659 were from Ireland, bringing \$3,540,034; 37,636 from Germany, bringing \$2,800,336; 11,112 from England, with \$844,512; 1,506 from Scotland, with \$114,456; 1,470 from France, with \$111,720; 1,306 from Switzerland, with \$104,816; and the rest from 21 other countries. Of these, 44,000 remained in New-York State; 20,000 were destined for the West and North-West. The immigration in 1859 was 79,322; 1858, 78,589; 1857, 183,773; 1856, 142,342; 1855, 146,233; in 1854, 319,223; 1853, 284,945; 1852, 309,992; 1851, 259,601; 1850, 212,795; total in eleven years, 2,131,437.

Church Membership of Slaves.—The *Educational Journal* of Georgia gives the following summary:

| | |
|---|---------|
| Methodist Church South,..... | 260,000 |
| North, in Va. and Md.,..... | 15,000 |
| Baptists, Missionary and Hard Shell,..... | 157,000 |
| Old-School Presbyterians,..... | 12,000 |
| United Synod, about,..... | 6,000 |
| Cumberland Presbyterians,..... | 20,000 |
| Protestant Episcopal,..... | 7,000 |
| Campbellites and Christians,..... | 10,000 |
| All others,..... | 20,000 |

Total colored members South,.....507,000

Increase of the Ministry.—From the minutes and almanacs of several religious bodies chiefly, and from Wilson's Presbyterian Almanac and a few other sources, all dated 1860 and 1861, we learn that the number of evangelical ministers is 30,838. For several reasons this number is no doubt understated. Only the traveling preachers of the Methodist churches are enumerated; the anti-mission and some other Baptist ministers are not included; the licentiate preachers of the Presbyterian churches are included.

Similar statistics for 1832, 1843, and 1854, may be found in the *Missionary Chronicle*, February, 1844, and the *Foreign Missionary*, April and May, 1855. The comparative results may be thus stated:

| | Population. | Evangelical Ministers. | Relative Supply. |
|------------|-------------|------------------------|------------------|
| 1832,..... | 13,713,243 | 9,537 | 1437 to 1 |
| 1843,..... | 18,768,823 | 17,673 | 1063 to 1 |
| 1854,..... | 25,953,000 | 26,252 | 988 to 1 |
| 1860,..... | 31,000,000 | 31,328 | 986 to 1 |

INCREASE PER CENT.

Population, 1832 to 1860, 226 and a fraction over. Evangelical Ministers, 1832 to 1860, 328½.

The following comparative statement is from the *Examiner*:

The Almanacs of the Presbyterian, Congregationalist, and the Baptist denominations, for 1861, give the statistics of their membership and ministers, and contain facts worthy of notice.

The Congregationalists (Orthodox) have, in all North America, 2734 churches, of which 561 are without pastors; male members, 81,453; female members, 157,257. Total number, 260,389. Of these 201,409 are residents of New England.

The Presbyterians are divided into ten or twelve distinct bodies, the largest being the Old-School Presbyterian Church, which has, in the United States, 2,693 ministers, 3,592 churches, 292,857 communicants. A large proportion of its membership is

in the South. The New-School Presbyterian Church is less than one half as large as the Old-School, having 1,527 ministers, 1,483 churches, (a remarkable exception to most Protestant denominations, its ministers being more numerous than its churches), and 134,933 members. They are mainly in the free States. The Cumberland Presbyterians, who, in many respects, have more affinity with the Methodists than with the Presbyterians, are mainly in the South-Western States, and are most numerous in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri. They number 1150 ministers, 1250 churches, and 103,000 members. Next come the United Presbyterian Church, who adhere to many of the forms of the Scotch Church, and are, as a body, strongly opposed to slavery. They are found almost entirely in the Middle States, and have 447 ministers, 674 churches, and 58,781 members. The Reformed Protestant Dutch Church is usually reckoned a Presbyterian body. It too is confined almost entirely to the Middle States, and has 410 ministers, 410 churches, and 50,427 members. The other Presbyterian Churches, the United Synod, two Reformed Synods, one Associate Reformed Synod of the South, the Associate, Associate Reformed, Free Synod, and Covenanters, are small bodies, none of them numbering more than 12,000 members. Together, the entire Presbyterian bodies in the United States number 6,606 ministers, 7,928 churches, and 683,932 members. In British North America there are 465 ministers of the different Presbyterian bodies, 625 churches, and 59,284 members, making the aggregate for North America, 7,071 ministers, 8,553 churches, and 743,216 members.

The regular Baptists number, in the United States, 8,952 ministers, of whom 1,115 are licentiates, 12,371 churches, and 1,020,442 members. Adding to these those in British North America, we have 9,424 ministers, of whom 1,203 are licentiates, 13,046 churches, and 1,091,167 mem-

bers—being a little more than all the Presbyterians and the Congregationalists combined.

Lutherans.—The first Lutheran Synod (that of Pennsylvania) in this country was formed in 1748, at the suggestion of the Theological Faculty of Halle; the New York Ministerium was organized in 1785. The synods now number 38 in 18 States. The General Synod was organized in 1820. The church had then 103 ministers; in 1833, 337 ministers and 1,017 congregations; in 1853, 900 ministers and 1,750 congregations; in 1860, 1,150 ministers and 2,099 congregations. The Theological Seminary at Hartwick was established in 1816; that at Gettysburg, 1825; the Pennsylvania College in 1832.—*Prof. M. L. Stoever's Brief Sketch.*

Welsh Calvinistic Methodists in the United States: 113 churches, 4,851 members, 53 ordained ministers, and 36 preachers. Ten Associations (*Cymanfa*) for preaching are held each year, 4 in New York, and 2 each in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Wisconsin. In the State of New York are 27 churches (the largest in Utica of 160 members; next in New York City of 143), with 1,416 members. The largest salary paid is \$1,000 to Rev. W. Roberts, N. Y. In Ohio, 26 churches and 1,400 members; Pennsylvania, 17 churches, 654 members; Wisconsin, 38 churches; Minnesota, 5 churches.

Roman Catholics:

| Years. | Provinces. | Dioceses. | Vicariates. | Bishops. | Priests. | Churches. | Stations & Chapels. | Eccles. Institutions. |
|-----------|------------|-----------|-------------|----------|----------|-----------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| 1808..... | 1 | 1 | . | 2 | 68 | 80 | ... | 2 |
| 1830..... | 1 | 11 | . | 10 | 223 | 230 | ... | 13 |
| 1840..... | 1 | 15 | . | 17 | 482 | 454 | ... | 29 |
| 1850..... | 3 | 27 | . | 37 | 1081 | 1073 | 505 | 34 |
| 1854..... | 7 | 41 | . | 89 | 1574 | 1712 | 746 | 37 |
| 1855..... | 7 | 41 | . | 40 | 1714 | 1824 | 978 | 37 |
| 1856..... | 7 | 41 | . | 40 | 1761 | 1910 | 895 | 37 |
| 1857..... | 7 | 41 | . | 39 | 1873 | 2053 | 629 | 35 |
| 1858..... | 7 | 43 | . | 43 | 2108 | 2234 | ... | ... |
| 1859..... | 7 | 43 | . | 46 | 2108 | 2234 | ... | ... |
| 1860..... | 7 | 43 | 3 | 49 | 2335 | 2385 | 1198 | 48 |
| 1861..... | 7 | 43 | 3 | 45 | 2317 | 2517 | 1278 | 49 |

The Mormons.—The number of Mormons in the United States and the British dominions, in 1856, was not less than 65,000, of whom 38,000 were residents in Utah, 5,000 in New York State, 4,000 in California, 5,000 in Nova Scotia and the Canadas, and 9,000 in South America. In Europe there were 36,000, of whom 22,000 were in Great Britain and Ireland, 5,000 in Scandinavia, 2,000 in Germany, Switzerland, and France, and the rest of Europe, 1,000; in Australia and Polynesia, 2,400, in Africa, 100; and on travel, 2,800. To these if we add the different branches, including Sarengites, Rigdonites, and Whiteites, the whole sect was not less than 126,000. In 1857, there appears to have been a decrease in the population of Utah, the number being only 31,022, of which 9,000 were children, about 11,000 women, and 11,000 men capable of bearing arms. There are 2,358 men with eight or more wives, of these, 13 have more than nine wives; 739 men with five wives, 1,100 with four wives, and 2,508 with more than one wife—recapitulation, 4,647 men, with about 16,500 wives. There have been three large immigrations from Europe the present year, amounting to about 2,500 persons, from all parts of Europe.

THE anniversaries of the different religious and benevolent Societies held in New York and Boston were well attended. The Reports give, upon the whole, favorable results.

The American Tract Society.—Printed during the year, 857,004 volumes, 9,507,904 publications, or 256,343,464 pages. Total in thirty-six years, 16,635,533 volumes, 236,090,209 publications, or 5852,630,598 pages.

Gratuitous distribution for the year, in 3,764 distinct grants, 45,083,951 pages, and 15,137,850 pages to life-members and directors, value upwards of \$40,000.

Receipts and Expenditures.—Received in donations \$93,926.88, including legacies, \$25,028.26; and for sales, \$213,413.85—making \$307,340.73, or with \$51,394.92, balance of insurance money on hand at the beginning of the year, \$358,735.61. Expended—manufacturing and issuing, \$217,178.56; colportage, \$71,337.60, and eight colporteur agencies and depositories, \$27,767.46; foreign cash appropriations, \$7,000; agencies for raising funds, \$12,367.82; all other expenses, \$27,203.75; total, \$357,478.91. Total donations and legacies received for the year have been less by \$5,000 than the expenditures for the three items of colportage and home and foreign grants.

Foreign Cash Appropriations.—For the Sandwich Islands, \$550; China, Episcopal Mission, Shanghai, \$300; Southern Baptist Missions, Canton, \$100; Shanghai, \$100; Assam, \$100; Burmah and Karens, \$200; Northern India, \$1,000; Orissa, \$100; Turkey, Armenians, etc., Northern Mission, \$1,900; Central Mission, \$500; Southern Mission, \$500; Italy, \$1,000; Germany, American Baptist Mission, \$300; New Granada Presbyterian Mission, \$350; total, \$7,000. The sum of \$1,000 has also been transferred from the Mission of the Presbyterian Board in Siam to their mission in China.

Boston Tract Society.—Publications 39,390,104 pages of tracts and books, at a cost of \$69,015; sales, \$49,677; grants, \$16,503; foreign field, \$500; sixty-two colporteurs. Receipts, \$75,042; debt, \$25,647.

American and Foreign Christian Union.—Receipts, \$60,569; expenditures, \$59,082.

American Bible Society.—The receipts of the year from all sources were \$389,551.52, of which \$221,742.33 were for books sold. Books printed at the Bible House 829,000; books issued, 721,878; making an

aggregate since the formation of the Society of 15,000,759. Gratuitous issues have amounted to \$41,967.91.

Of the *Bible Society Record*, 414,000 have been issued, or 37,951 monthly.

Grants of Money.—These have been made for publishing and circulating the Scriptures in Spanish America, France, Germany, Italy, Turkey, Syria, India, China, Africa, and the Sandwich Islands, to the amount of \$22,283.90, aside from the funds expended in the Bible House in printing foreign versions.

Home Missionary Society.—Receipts, \$183,761.80. Expenditures, \$183,762.70, leaving \$13,706.24 still due to missionaries for labor performed; the balance in the treasury is but \$20.53.

The total of receipts is less by only \$1454.37 than that of the year preceding. The contributions of the living, indeed, are greater by \$5,177.44; the amount of legacies, \$33,226.97, being \$7,131.70 less. In consequence chiefly of a balance in the treasury, at the beginning of the previous year, the expenditures of the past year have been \$8,774.99 less than in the year before; and the number of missionaries is less by forty-five.

American Seamen's Friend Society.—The receipts of the Society, branches and auxiliaries, last year, were \$72,997.59.

The receipts of the Parent Society have been \$23,698.05; last year it was \$40,711.26. This diminution has been chiefly in the Southern field—indeed, there has been a small increase in the central agency. Owing to the state of the times and the resignation of the Southern Secretary, comparatively little has been collected at the South. Operations in the Southern ports, however, have not been abandoned, though in some of them, for the want of means, sus-

pended in part for a time; in others there has been considerable prosperity. The expenditures of the Parent Society have been \$23,942.54. The floating debt at the close of last year was about \$5,000; it is now \$7,000.

American Missionary Association.—112 missionaries; 145 churches; 4,380 church members—452 added the last year; 6,250 Sunday-school scholars.

Baptist Missionary Union.—The receipts of the year have fallen off some \$12,000. The missions are in a prosperous condition. The whole number of missions is 18. In the Asiatic Missions there are 16 Stations, and about 365 out-stations; in the French and German Missions, 860 stations and out-stations. The number of missionaries, including those in this country and exclusive of those in Europe, is 42 males and 44 females; native preachers and assistants, exclusive of those in Europe, 380; in Europe, 124. The number of churches about 360; baptisms during the year, (reports not full,) 1,950; whole number of members about 28,000.

The receipts of the *Southern Baptist Foreign Mission Board*, for the financial year just closed, were \$32,826.52; the expenditures, \$40,294.48; excess of expenditures, \$7,467.96; balance in treasury, \$4,990.39.

The *Christian Index* learns that the Bible Board "will report to the coming Convention more work done and more money received during 1859-61 than during 1857-59. The Board has applications now for Bibles and Testaments for the Creek, Cherokee, and Choctaw Indians, for the Chinese, and for Sabbath-schools in Arkansas, Tennessee, and Texas."

At the 27th Anniversary of the *Female Guardian Society and Home for the Friendless*, the annual sermon was preached by Rev. George L.

Prentiss, D.D. The Receipts were \$42,295; expenditures, \$38,584.

Missions of the Episcopal Church.

—In the Domestic Missionary field, 3 bishops and 137 missionaries are employed; the amount raised \$75,230. For the Foreign field, the receipts were \$85,389, or \$14,087 less than in 1859. In China, 12 missionaries are employed—two being native deacons; in Japan, 2 missionaries and one physician; in Africa 10 missionaries, and 39 assistants; 382 communicants; 683 scholars.

The *General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church (N. S.)* met in Syracuse; Dr. Condit, of Auburn, was chosen Moderator.

The Trustees of the *Church Erection Fund* reported the whole amount of the fund as \$111,000, and that thirty-two churches had been aided in building during the past year.

The Church Extension Committee.

—The funds of this Committee of the N. S. Presbyterian Church have increased to about \$22,000, or fifty per cent during the year over last year; the number of missionaries to eighty-eight, or more than one hundred per cent; legacies reported, but not received, \$25,000.

The plan of *Education* was revised. The following are the chief articles:

"ART. III. The General Secretary shall be the Executive officer of the Permanent Committee. It shall be his duty, as far as he can, to visit the Synods, Presbyteries, and churches, for the purpose of awakening their interest and concentrating their energies in this matter; to visit the students aided by the Permanent Committee, and to exercise, as far as possible, a pastoral supervision over them; to present this cause to the churches; to urge upon young men the claims of the ministry; to collect funds as opportunity may be afforded him; to

discharge such other duties as may be assigned to him from time to time by the Permanent Committee, in furtherance of the general object of Education for the ministry, and to make a quarterly report, in writing, of his doings to the Permanent Committee.

"ART. IV. The Permanent Committee shall also annually elect a Treasurer, who shall receive all funds intrusted to them, and disburse the same under their direction. At their discretion, this officer may receive a reasonable compensation, and be required to give adequate bonds.

"ART. V. Appropriations to students for the ministry shall be made by the Permanent Committee, according to the rules heretofore approved by the General Assembly (Minutes 1857, p. 390), or such as shall hereafter be approved. Although it is recommended to churches and to donors not to give a specific direction to their contributions, yet in individual cases, and for sufficient reasons, any designation may be given to contributions not inconsistent with the rules of the General Assembly, provided, nevertheless, that all funds passing through the treasury shall bear a due proportion of the expenses of the Committee."

The Committee last year received \$8,429; local societies received about \$18,000. The number of students aided was 225.

The most important action of the Assembly was in respect to Home Missions, taking the whole work within its bounds under its supervision. The Permanent Committee is assigned to New York, instead of Philadelphia. The chief debate was on allowing Presbyteries to have the control of funds for missionaries within their bounds. The main articles are these:

"ART. IV. They shall undertake the work of aiding such congregations as are unable to support, in whole or in part, the stated preaching of the Gospel, and of sending itinerating or resident missionaries to the destitute in our own land.

"And as it is the design of the General Assembly not to supersede the different ecclesiastical bodies connected with it, but to encourage and give unity and efficiency to their action, so as to bring out the full adaptation and force of the Presbyterian system in Home Missions, the Presbyteries are recommended to appoint Standing Committees on Home Missions to explore their destitutions; to select, and, if they think expedient, to nominate missionaries for their own field; to recommend the amount of their compensation; to secure an annual contribution to the cause from each of their churches; to be a medium of communication between the Presbytery and the Assembly's Committee; and to furnish annually to this Committee, on or before the 15th of April, a detailed statement of the Home Missionary work within their bounds.

"ART. V. The Committee shall appoint and commission the missionaries, taking care to appoint no one unacceptable to the Presbytery within whose bounds he is to labor; they shall give them all needful instruction as to the place and character of their labors, securing, as far as practicable, and regarding, the advice and indorsement of the Presbytery, as to the selection and location of laborers and their remuneration; they shall make the necessary appropriations to agents, exploring and itinerating missionaries, and congregations, it being understood that no appropriation shall be made to any congregation whose application is not indorsed by the Presbytery with which such congregation stands connected, or the Committee of Presbytery; and shall take measures to secure the effective coöperation of the Synods, Presbyteries, and churches, in the work of exploration, in securing missionaries, and in obtaining funds for the common treasury."

The Assembly also passed, unanimously, patriotic resolutions upon the present state of the country. After reciting the facts of secession, the

following among other resolves were adopted:

"*Resolved*, 1. That inasmuch as the Presbyterian Church, in her past history, has frequently lifted up her voice against oppression, has shown herself a champion of constitutional liberty, as against both despotism and anarchy, throughout the civilized world, we should be recreant to our high trust were we to withhold our earnest protest against all such unlawful and treasonable acts."

"2. That this Assembly and the churches which it represents, cherish an undiminished attachment to the great principles of civil and religious freedom on which our National Government is based; under the influence of which our fathers prayed, and fought, and bled; which issued in the establishment of our independence, and by the preservation of which we believe that the common interests of evangelical religion and civil liberty will be most effectively sustained."

"6. That in the countenance which many ministers of the Gospel and other professing Christians are now giving to treason and rebellion against the Government, we have great occasion to mourn for the injury thus done to the Kingdom of the Redeemer; and that though we have nothing to add to our former significant and explicit testimonies on the subject of slavery, we yet recommend our people to pray more fervently than ever for the removal of this evil, and all others, both social and political, which lie at the foundation of our present national difficulties."

THE Presbyterian General Assembly (O. S.) met in Philadelphia. Only a small part of its Southern representation was present. The Presbytery of South Carolina had previously expressed the Southern feeling in the following resolutions:

"*Whereas*, The President of the United States has declared the Confederate States of America to be in a state of "insurrection," and has

called for an army of 75,000 men to aid the regular army in quelling this pretended insurrection, and has collected a large fleet to make a descent upon our coast, thereby inaugurating civil war: Therefore,

"Resolved, That it is inexpedient to appoint any of our members to represent this Presbytery in the General Assembly about to convene in Philadelphia, in the midst of the enemies of our peace and of our rights."

The most important and exciting debate was on the adoption of a resolution, offered by Dr. Spring of New York, professing loyalty to the General Government. Early in the session the whole subject was laid on the table by a vote of 123 to 102. Dr. Spring then proposed a resolution, which, as subsequently slightly modified, reads as follows:

"Resolved, 2. That this General Assembly, in the spirit of that Christian patriotism which the Scriptures enjoin, and which has always characterized this Church, do hereby acknowledge and declare our obligation to promote and perpetuate, so far as in us lies, the integrity of these United States, and to strengthen, uphold, and encourage the Federal Government in the exercise of all its functions under our noble Constitution; and to this Constitution, in all its provisions, requirements, and principles, we profess unabated loyalty."

Dr. Hodge, of Princeton, proposed a substitute, affirming, among other things:

"1. The General Assembly is neither a Northern nor a Southern body; it comprehends the entire Presbyterian Church, irrespective of geographical lines or political opinions, and had it met this year, as it does with marked uniformity one half of the time, in some Southern city, no one would have presumed to ask of it a fuller declaration of its views upon this subject than it has embodied in this minute.

"2. Owing to Providential hindrances, nearly one third of our Presbyteries are not represented at our present meeting; they feel that Christian courtesy not only, but common justice requires that we should refrain, except in the presence of some stringent necessity, from adopting measures to bind the consciences of our brethren who are absent, most of them, as we believe, by no fault of their own."

The debate was earnest and protracted; and the advice even of members of the President's Cabinet—contrary to all previous usage—was brought to bear upon the result. The subject was referred to a committee, a majority of whom proposed the following, among other resolves:

"Resolved, That the members of this General Assembly, in the spirit of that Christian patriotism which the Scriptures enjoin, and which has always characterized this Church, do hereby acknowledge and declare their obligation, so far as in them lies, to maintain the Constitution of these United States, in the full exercise of all its legitimate powers, to preserve our beloved Union unimpaired, and to restore its inestimable blessings to every portion of the land."

The Southern members objected to any and all resolutions. But the General Assembly, by a decisive vote, 129 to 84, rejected the majority report, and adopted Dr. Spring's resolution as above, with unimportant additions. Dr. Hodge and 45 others presented a Protest, the most important point of which was "the denial of the right of the General Assembly to decide the political question, to what Government the allegiance of Presbyterians as citizens is due, and its right to make that decision a condition of membership in our Church." The answer to this Protest, drawn up by Dr. Thomas, denies that the Assembly has done this, for the reason, that it cannot recognise the Southern Confeder-

acy as a Government, and quotes against Dr. Hodge his own statement in the *Princeton Review*, that disunion "involves a breach of faith, and a violation of the oaths by which that faith was confirmed."

It is a pretty serious question, whether the unity of Presbyterianism is to be more regarded than the claims of patriotism. A church which is unwilling to declare its loyalty to its country does not keep all the commandments of Christ. And the real question is, not whether a church may not have members from different governments, but whether it may not and ought not to declare itself loyal, although some of its members may have become disloyal.

THE *Reformed Protestant Dutch Church* held its annual Synod in Brooklyn in June. The receipts for Foreign Missions were reported at \$35,406, an increase of \$5,224; Board of Publication, \$16,205; Sabbath-school, 5,144; Domestic Missions, \$13,546.

THE *United Brethren in Christ* held their 13th Annual Conference in Westerville, Ohio; 56 delegates present. An Address of the three bishops, Glossbrenner, Edwards, and Davis, was read, which contained the following present statistics of the denomination: 5,166 preaching places; 3,900 classes; 94,453 members; 499 itinerant and 417 local preachers; 1,041 meeting-houses; and 1,513 Sabbath-schools; preaching places, 1,275; classes, 1,284; members, 33,054; meeting-houses, 267; Sabbath-schools, 504.

Presbyterians in British Provinces.

| | Min. Chh. Com. | | |
|--|----------------|-----|--------|
| Presbyterian Churches in connection with Churches of Scotland, | 99 | 116 | 12,000 |
| United Presb. in Canada, | 70 | 130 | 11,000 |
| Presb. Chh. of " | 151 | 187 | 20,931 |
| " of Lower Prov., | 76 | 143 | 9,950 |
| " of Nova Scotia, | 20 | 25 | 2,000 |
| " of New Brunswick, | 29 | 34 | 3,400 |

CANADA—*Upper Canada*.—The Episcopal Church in 1803 had 5 clergymen and one bishop; in 1819, 16 clergymen; in 1839, 16 clergymen; in 1860, ten bishops and about 200 clergymen.

THE *Associated Calvinistic Baptist Churches of Canada* now number over 12,000 members: the net increase the last year was 608.

THE *Wesleyan Methodists* (New Connection) now number 6,984 members and 79 ministers; in 1853 they had 4,446 members.

HAYTI.—The republic of Hayti has a population of 600,000. The national religion is Roman Catholic. A Concordat has been concluded by President Geffrard with Rome. The Roman mission had been interrupted since 1848. But now, Monsignor Monetti, Apostolic Legate, is arranging ecclesiastical affairs under Rome. An archbishop is to be appointed at Port-au-Prince, and bishops at other points. The priests are all white. A Concordat in 18 articles has been adopted, providing for the special protection of the Roman Catholic Church; the President (Geffrard) is to have the nomination of bishops. The legate is accompanied by three priests of the Congregation of the Holy Spirit and the Sacred Heart of Mary (instituted specially for missions among negroes), who will take up this mission, which has been interrupted since 1843.

There are in Hayti about 1400 Protestants; 4 missionary stations of the English Wesleyans, 2 of English Baptists, and one of American; 2 Haytian Protestant churches. It has a system of public free schools, at which 12,000 children attend; 89 primary schools for boys, 21 for girls; 4 high schools for boys, one for girls; law, naval, medical, and painting schools; a National Institute for instruction in Industrial Art. The Republic also supports 50 youth in colleges in France.

JAMAICA.—Rev. Mr. Underhill, Secretary of the English Baptist Missionary Society, who has visited Jamaica, and carefully studied its condition, said in a recent speech in London, that the late slaves in that island have built some 220 chapels. The churches that worship in them, number 53,000 communicants, amounting to one eighth of the total population. The average attendance, in other than the State churches, is 91,000, a fourth of the population. One third of the children (22,000) are in the schools. The blacks voluntarily contribute £22,000 (\$110,000) annually for religious purposes. Their landed property exceeds \$5,000,000. Valuing their cottages at only \$50 each, these amount to \$3,000,000. They have nearly \$300,000 deposited in the savings banks. The sum total of their property is much above eleven millions of dollars. All this has been accumulated since their emancipation.

The extraordinary revival now in progress attracts the attention of the Christian world. The "ruin" of the colored population in Jamaica by the gift of freedom, is to be estimated in the light of these facts.

DEMERARA.—The population is estimated at 140,000. Last year there were 6,000 immigrants (156 being Chinese women). The population has increased 80,000 since emancipation. Revivals of religion and prayer-meetings are reported.

EUROPE—Increase of Population.—In Europe there are 19 monarchies, 27 duchies, 4 principalities, 8 republics; in all, 58 governments. Twenty-five years ago there were 67. In Germany the change has been greatest: 200 years ago it had 350 distinct governments; in 1789 there were 150; in 1814 they were reduced to 38 (now 37).

Mr. J. E. Wappæus has published

at Leipsic the first volume of an *Allgemeine Bevölkerung Statistik* (General Statistics of Population), which contains some considerations on the movement of population in the various countries of Europe. He shows that the Malthusian doctrine, that the increase of population is by geometrical progression, is a mistake. In France, for instance, the rate of increase has been steadily decreasing since the peace of 1815, it being as follows:

| | |
|--------------------|---------------|
| 1821 to 1831,..... | 6.7 per cent. |
| 1831 to 1841,..... | 5.0 per cent. |
| 1841 to 1851,..... | 4.4 per cent. |
| 1851 to 1856,..... | .7 per cent. |

In England, the decrease in the rate of increase has been less:

| | |
|--------------------|----------------|
| 1811 to 1821,..... | 16.6 per cent. |
| 1821 to 1831,..... | 14.6 per cent. |
| 1831 to 1841,..... | 13.5 per cent. |
| 1841 to 1851,..... | 11.9 per cent. |

In Prussia, the annual rate of increase was:

| | |
|--------------------|----------------|
| 1817 to 1828,..... | 1.71 per cent. |
| 1829 to 1840,..... | 1.85 per cent. |
| 1840 to 1846,..... | 1.27 per cent. |
| 1846 to 1855,..... | .69 per cent. |

In Belgium the annual per centage of increase fell from 1.08 previous to 1846 to .42 from 1846 to 1856; in Holland it fell from .93 previous to 1840 to .69 from 1840 to 1850.

Mr. Wappæus gives the following table of the per centage of annual increase in the countries of Western Europe, and the period required for doubling. It is based on the rate of movement during the last fifteen years:

| | Increase. | Time of Doubling. |
|---------------------------------|-----------|-------------------|
| Norway,..... | 1.15 | 61 years. |
| Denmark,..... | 0.58 | 71 " |
| Sweden,..... | 0.85 | 79 " |
| Saxony,..... | 0.84 | 83 " |
| Holland,..... | 0.67 | 103 " |
| Sardinia,..... | 0.58 | 119 " |
| Prussia,..... | 0.53 | 131 " |
| Belgium,..... | 0.44 | 158 " |
| Great Britain and Ireland,..... | 0.28 | 302 " |
| Austria,..... | 0.18 | 385 " |
| France,..... | 0.14 | 405 " |
| Hanover,..... | 0.02 | 3152 " |

The laws of birth and death are stated by Mr. Wappæus, from sta-

tistics embracing about thirty-eight millions of births and thirty millions of deaths. They show that in these countries the annual average is, among 10,000 inhabitants, 260 deaths and 328 births, showing an increase of 68 per cent, from which, however, emigration is to be deducted. From this general average the figures vary for each country and each year, but the variations are considerably less among the births than among the deaths. This is occasioned mainly by wars, famines, and epidemics, which act directly upon the rate of mortality, and only indirectly on the rate of birth. The causes of geographical variation, which, as will be seen from the table below, are very considerable, are exceedingly difficult to determine. Mr. Wappæus attempts to show that they are to be found only to a very limited extent in the differences of climate and race. The fact, however, is undisputed, that the number of deaths follows very closely, and even month by month, the amount of variation of temperature. Mr. Wappæus does not consider conclusive the figures which have been relied upon to prove a considerable increase, during the last 500 years, in the mean duration of life.

The table of births and deaths, in proportion to the population, in several countries above referred to, is as follows:

| | <i>Births in proportion to the inhabitants.</i> | <i>Deaths in proportion to the inhabitants.</i> |
|----------------|---|---|
| Saxony,..... | 25.93 | 36.84 |
| Prussia,..... | 26.50 | 35.70 |
| Sardinia,..... | 27.82 | 33.78 |
| Austria,..... | 28.18 | 30.21 |
| Bavaria,..... | 29.22 | 36.01 |
| Holland,..... | 30.00 | 39.45 |
| England,..... | 30.06 | 43.79 |
| Norway,..... | 31.64 | 55.64 |
| Denmark,..... | 32.28 | 48.71 |
| Sweden,..... | 32.39 | 48.94 |
| Hanover,..... | 33.56 | 43.13 |
| Belgium,..... | 34.35 | 42.36 |
| France,..... | 37.16 | 43.56 |
| Average,..... | 30.49 | 38.50 |

GREAT BRITAIN.—Religious Societies.—The *Record* intimates that the accounts of nearly all the leading Church Societies, made up, as they usually are, to the 31st March, show

a considerable diminution in the receipts. The Church Missionary Society Committee reports a falling off of nearly £10,000 in the home revenue for the year, while the expenditure has been increased to the extent of £12,000. We are glad to know that no similar deficiency has taken place in the funds of either of the great missionary Societies supported by Dissenters; and we have no reason to believe that the income of any of our Associations has been materially lessened this year; in some we know an increase will be reported.—*Patriot*.

The Convocation of Canterbury.—

On Monday, March 14th, in the Lower House, a resolution was adopted, "that this House will always hail with satisfaction *lay co-operation*, when it can be had without infringing on the rights and privileges of Convocation." Consent to a petition for license to act on Canon 29th was also given, after a long discussion.

On Friday, March 15th, on motion of Dr. McCaul, a joint committee was voted, on promoting the endowment of poor incumbrances. Canon Wordsworth brought forward a motion against the legalizing of marriage with a deceased wife's sister, and expressing the earnest hope that the Bishops would give it their strenuous opposition, if it came up in the House of Lords. Dr. McCaul seems to have been alone in opposing it in the debate; and the motion was carried.

The Convocation of York.—The

Convocation of York has also, at last, met for business, for the first time since 1704, in which year an address was voted to Queen Anne by the only two persons present, the two commissioners of Archbishop Sharp. No prolocutor has been chosen since 1663. This year, Convocation met on Monday, March 13th, in the Chapter House of York Cathedral. The President (the Archbishop) began by stating, that as license to alter a

canon had been given to the Convocation of Canterbury, a like license should be asked by the Convocation of York.

In the Lower House, the Dean of Ripon moved that the Lower House, consenting to the wish expressed by the Upper House, agree to a petition to the Crown for a license to amend, if thought desirable, the 29th Canon; and that this House is prepared to receive the petition adopted by their Lordships to that effect. After some opposition from Dr. McNeile, the motion was carried.

Anniversary of the Bible Society.

— The fifty-seventh anniversary of the British and Foreign Bible Society was held on Wednesday, May 1st, at Exeter Hall. The President of the Society, the Earl of Shaftesbury, presided. The President's speech was mainly directed against the negative theology of the *Essays and Reviews*. He said of the authors, that "They were antagonistic to the faith which we professed. From this responsibility he would hear of no escape, under the plea that this man did not write that essay, nor the other man such a review. They were all act and part in one conspiracy, and every one of them must take his share of profit or loss, of credit or shame, with all the rest."

The report gives a most cheering account of the progress of the Bible cause in nearly all portions of the immense field occupied by the British and Foreign Bible Society. The reports from Italy, Russia, and China, were particularly satisfactory. In the large cities of Italy the circulation has been large.

In Russia, after a long period of suspended labor, the Synod of the Greek Church had resumed the printing of the Scriptures in modern Russ for general circulation. The translation of the entire Bible was already completed, but as yet only the four Gospels had been issued; of these, 200,000 copies had been circulated.

The circulation of the year through the medium of the agency at St. Petersburg, was 17,200 copies of the Scriptures.

In China, the issues in the last year were, at Shanghai, 28,000 copies, at Canton, 6000, and at Hong Kong, 4,300.

The total receipts of the Society from the ordinary sources of income were £167,164 6s. 7d., being £5,143 13s. 2d. more than any former year.

Church Missionary Society.—On Tuesday, April 30, the annual general meeting of the members and friends of this Society was held in Exeter Hall. The Rev. John Venn, D.D., read the Report, which stated that the income of the Society had amounted to £129,182 5s. 4d., including a sum of £4,382 5s. 0d., specially subscribed for India. The local funds raised in the missions, and expended there upon the operations of the Society, but independently of the general fund, were not included in the above statement. The amount exceeded £20,000, making a grand total from all sources of £149,182.

London Missionary Society.—The Anniversary of this Society was held in Exeter Hall. The whole receipts of the year are £81,563 7s. 3d.; the whole expenditure, £81,199 6s. The ordinary income shows an increase on the year 1859-60, when, however, the aggregate was swelled by the falling in of a reversionary gift of £9,500. The disastrous interruption of the mission to the Makololo tribe forms the only exception to the hopeful and encouraging prospects of the Society; and against that melancholy disappointment may be set the good success of the devoted band sent among the Matabele on the opposite bank of the Zambesi, and the undaunted readiness of poor Helmore's surviving brethren to resume the enterprise cut short by the selfishness, if not the treachery, of King Sekel-etu.

Religious Tract Society.—The 62d Annual Anniversary of this Society was held May 3d, at Exeter Hall. Dr. G. H. Davis, the Secretary, read the report. It is stated that the publications issued from the Society's dépôt during the past year amounted to 41,883,921. Of these, 20,870,070 were English tracts, including handbills; 537,729 were foreign tracts; 13,194,155 were periodicals, and the remainder books and miscellaneous productions. If to these were added the probable circulation from foreign dépôts, the numbers would reach 47,000,000, making a total, since the institution of the Society, of 912,000,000. The number of new works published during the year was 289. The grants to Great Britain and Ireland had amounted to 5,762,241 tracts and books, valued at £6,116 14s. 4d.; the grants to France had amounted to £958 1s. 4d. The principal of the other grants were as follows: Holland and Belgium, £290; Russia, Sweden, etc., £387 4s. 1d.; Italy, £524 14s.; Turkey and the Mediterranean, £314; India, £2,196 17s. 6d.; China, £446 11s. 3d. The funds of the Society had considerably improved. The total receipts of the year were given at £103,127 16s. 11d.; the total expenditure, £102,311 14s. 5d., leaving a balance in the hands of the Treasurer of £816 2s. 6d.

The Wesleyan Missionary Society reported the following: Home receipts, £105,898 19s. 1d.; foreign receipts, £34,779 10s. 8d.; total receipts, home and foreign, £140,678 9s. 9d.

From 1855 to 1860, the Wesleyans expended on chapel-building the sum of £374,123. In London they have one minister to every 88,000 of the population.

The Baptist Missionary Society received, in the course of the year, nearly £33,000. Rev. A. Wiberg, of Stockholm, Sweden, delivered a remarkable address on the history and

prospects of the Baptist body in Sweden. Their history went back but a few years. He was converted in 1842, and a few years later joined the Baptists. About twenty Baptist chapels had been erected in the last four or five years, and about thirty colporteurs or local preachers were employed in evangelical labors in the different villages and provinces of the kingdom. There were altogether at the present time about 120 Baptist churches in Sweden, and upwards of 5,000 persons had been added to their communion within the past six years.

The Primitive Methodist Mission Society.—The Report, read by Rev. T. Penrose, stated that the itinerant preachers of the denomination were 675, and the connectional chapels numbered 2,267; the membership is 132,114, and the Sunday-scholars number 167,533. The gross income was £14,858 17s. 8½d. Numerous addresses were made.

RAGGED SCHOOLS.—The advantages which society has reaped from the establishment of these schools are so great that new ones are being opened daily all over the country. In London alone are 155 ragged schools and 15 refuges, with morning, afternoon, and evening Sabbath-school, and an average attendance of about 26,400 scholars. There are 146 week-day schools, with an average attendance of 15,457. There are 200 week-night schools, averaging over 9,400, and there are 99 industrial classes, averaging close upon 3,750 scholars. There are over 4,300 voluntary teachers, 132 of whom were formerly scholars in ragged schools, and 416 paid teachers. The income is £29,280, and the expenses are £29,252. We add, with regret, that there is a debt of £2,122. 834 boys and 652 girls have been sent to situations from these schools. 76 penny banks are connected with them, in which 25,637 depositors have deposited £8,888; and there are fifty

clothing clubs, to which the scholars and their friends have subscribed £592. These figures speak for themselves.

Italian Mission in England.—A Church of England mission to Italians resident in the metropolis has been opened with the sanction and approval of the Bishop of London, who has nominated Rev. P. Leonini to conduct it. It is said that there are 20,000 Italians residing in the metropolis. An effort will be made to secure one of the city churches for the use of the mission, but no arrangements have yet been completed.

Evangelical Continental Society.—This Society held a meeting April 10th. The Secretary made the following statement as to the objects of the Society:

"The Society did not send out missions to the Continent, but assisted Protestant Missionary Societies in France, Belgium, and Italy. There were ninety laborers in connection with the Society in Italy, including ministers, evangelists, schoolmasters, and mistresses. There were also twenty in connection with the Vaudois Church, eleven at Nice, and five at Geneva. The design of the meeting was to excite the sympathies of British Christians with the objects of the Society. In connection with the Evangelical Society of France and Geneva, there were about one hundred and ten agents laboring in France, besides forty-five students in the School of Theology at Geneva. About thirty-four agents were laboring in connection with the Evangelical Society of Belgium."

The Church-Rate Question.—The House of Commons has once more voted in favor of the abolition of Church-rates, two hundred and eighty-one voting for, and two hundred and sixty-six against the bill. The London *Patriot* has the following remarks on the vote:

"The debate and division was perhaps the most important that has ever taken place on the subject. First of all, there was the fullest House that ever divided on the question—five hundred and fifty-one, including tellers; we believe that on no previous Church-Rate debate have more than five hundred members been present. This was felt to be a great party division, on which the strength of both sides of the House would be pretty well tested, and on which the cohesion and influence of the Liberal party greatly depended."

Lord Palmerston, Lord John Russell, Sir G. Grey, Sir G. C. Lewis, Sir C. Wood, Right Hon. Mr. Gibson, Mr. Cardwell, Lord Stanley, Sir James Graham, Lord Alfred Hervey, Hon. A. Kinnaird, etc., voted with the majority; and the Right Hon. W. Gladstone, Sir R. Peel, Mr. Frederick Peel, Mr. Pope Hennessy, a leading man among the ultramontanes of Ireland, were among the minority. The Irish Catholic members, for the most part, did not vote.

Quakers.—England and Ireland had about 70,000 Quakers in 1690; now they number about 26,000. In the last 50 years, there have been among them 2,400 more births than deaths.

Roman Catholics in Great Britain.—Priests, 1,342; chapels, 993; monasteries, 47; convents, 155; colleges, 12. The last year, the diocese of Worcester received 31 new priests; Hexham, 8; England, 100; Scotland, 11. In Westminster, 6 new monasteries, and 31 new chapels; 8 new convents. In Liverpool, 9 new convents.

Religious Statistics of Ireland.—The *Irish Times* estimates the present population of Ireland at 5,950,000 souls; and adds: "From various causes emigration has chiefly taken place among the Roman Catholic portion of the people, and the num-

ber of those who profess the Roman Catholic creed has annually diminished. On the fairest calculation, it would appear that, of the 5,950,000, not more than 3,450,000 are Roman Catholics, the remaining 2,500,000 being Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Methodists, etc., all classed under the name of Protestant."

SCOTLAND.—The Endowment Fund for the Established Church, to raise the necessitous district (*quoad sacra*) churches to parish churches now amounts to half a million: it was the favorite project of the late Dr. Robertson, whose Memorial Fund, by the ladies of the Church of Scotland, is now in rapid progress. By this fund, 42 churches and 8 parishes, at an expense of £170,000, have been secured. Dr. Robertson's scheme, in addition, has already subscriptions to the amount of £156,000; it is proposed to increase it to £200,000.

The Cardross Case.—Lord Terviswoode has decided, that the civil courts have the right to investigate alleged irregularities of ecclesiastical procedure, with a view of reducing or annulling ecclesiastical sentences. The Free Church maintains, that these sentences being purely ecclesiastical, can not be revised by the civil courts. The whole Free Church case is thus again reopened. Large meetings have been held in Edinburgh and Glasgow in reference to the matter.

The United Presbyterian Church reports 536 congregations, 161,669 communicants (an increase of 4,622); 124 students; £192,461 raised, of which £44,377 are for missionary and benevolent uses. The Church of Scotland has 1,173 ministers, 1,208 churches; the Free Church, 797 ministers, 875 churches; the Reformed Presbyterian Church, 87 ministers, 90 churches, 10,000 members.

The Presbyterians in England

number 88 ministers, 103 churches, 9,500 members; in Ireland, 500 ministers, 650 churches, 57,000 members; the Reformed Presbyterian in Ireland, 45 ministers, 55 churches, 4,000 members; the Presbyterian Church of Victoria, 137 ministers, 150 churches, 57,000 members.

THE News of the Churches says: "In Dumfriesshire, and in the Upper ward of Lanarkshire, God has been working marvelously by his Spirit. Mr. Hammond, an American Presbyterian student of divinity, has been the chief human agent employed in the work. His pointed and practical addresses in the town of Dumfries produced a powerful impression; and during most of the past month there have been large public union prayer-meetings in one or other of the churches in the town—the operations of the Spirit having in this, as in most other cases, burst the bonds of sectarian feeling." Mr. Hammond is a graduate of Williams College, and was a member of the Union Theological Seminary in New York.

WALES.—The Wesleyan Methodists have increased in two years 4,549, now numbering 16,388. The Baptist churches have increased 10,000. The Independents, 33,724. The total increase in the different denominations is estimated at 100,000.

FRANCE.—A new census of France is about to be taken. The following figures show the comparative increase of population for the last forty years: In 1821 it was 30,461,875; in 1831, 32,569,223; in 1836, 33,540,910; in 1841, 34,230,178; in 1851, 35,783,170; and in 1856, 36,039,364.

An interesting document has lately been published in Paris, giving the number of individuals in France at the date of the last census (1856), who were engaged, directly or indirectly, in various professions and trades, from which they derived their

support. The returns include not only adults, but also children, and are thus classed: Agriculture, 19,064,071; Manufactures, 10,690,961; Commerce, 1,652,331; Professions, 1,462,144; Clergy of all persuasions, 142,705; Persons without any trade or profession, 3,241,457. A comparison between the population returns of 1851 and 1856 shows a sensible diminution in the number of persons engaged in agricultural labor, and an increase in the class following manufacturing pursuits. During the preceding year (1856) the receipts from the *octroi* in Paris were 54 millions of francs, being an increase of 21 millions of francs in ten years; and the total receipts of the metropolis in the same year amounted to 110,306,124 francs; while the expenditure during the same period was 97,720,544 francs.—*Athenæum*.

Education.—Of 310,289 soldiers, only 192,873 can read and write. In all France there are only 4,225 booksellers, of whom only 165 are in the rural communes. Out of 2,250,000 boys, 475,000 go to no school; and of 2,593,000 girls, 533,000. Out of 1,000 criminals, 786 can neither read nor write. Improvement is imperative, and has been so strongly felt by the Government to be so, that the Minister of Public Instruction has offered a first prize of 1,200 francs, and seven inferior ones, to the best papers sent in by schoolmasters in answer to this pointed question: "What are the wants of primary instruction in a rural commune, in the three-fold point of view of the school, the scholars, and the master"? The papers were to be given in on the 3d of February. This, together with the rising of the minimum salary of schoolmasters to 600 francs, which decision benefits 4,405 of them, and sundry pecuniary reliefs given to above 2,000 schools, shows a solicitude called for by a crying evil.

Some of the French *Monasteries*

are rapidly increasing. The establishment of Les Petites Sœurs des Pauvres de Paris, which was attended in 1844 by two women occupying a single room, now possesses thirty convents and twenty-five millions of property. The "Sisters of the Holy Union" of Cambrai, started only a very few years ago, and they have now one hundred and thirty houses of their order in France and Belgium.

The trial and condemnation of the Abbé Mallett at Douai for the abduction and conversion of a family of Jewish girls, has produced a painful impression as to the morals of the Catholic convents in France. The oldest girl, seduced by Mallett as well from her virtue as from her religion, was used by him as an instrument to obtain possession of the other sisters; and the better to accomplish his purpose, the girls were carried about from convent to convent, and had their names frequently changed, in order that their parents should lose trace of them. The Bishop of Cambrai, when appealed to by the brother, made the same reply as that made by the Pope when the father of the Mortara boy demanded his son, *Non possumus*—we can do nothing. Fortunately there is justice in France. The Abbé Mallett was condemned to six years' solitary confinement.

The dependence of the French Church on Rome is growing more slight. The Emperor has it in his own hands. He virtually chooses all the bishops and archbishops; he even names the cardinals; and all the clergy are in his pay. The archbishops, 15, receive from \$2,000 to \$10,000; 64 bishops from \$3,000 to \$5,000; 669 canons, from \$320 to \$480; 3,124 parish priests about \$300; 29,971 priests of dependent churches, from \$200 to \$500; 8,053 curates, (vicars,) from \$60 to \$100. There are in France 208 seminaries for priests, with 27,290 pupils. A million and a half

of francs are annually expended for church building by the State. The monasteries and nunneries are also supported by the State; they can not receive by will from any one source over 10,000 francs, nor that without express permission, nor can any one leave them more than one fourth of his property. There are 600 cloisters for men, with 9,186 monks; 2,000 for women, with 40,391 nuns; in the cloisters are 1,547 seminaries, with 5,178 brothers, and 23,359 sisters. Among the Orders, 712 are enlisted in benevolent works, with 922 monks and 10,189 nuns; the other 383, with 2,039 monks and 6,845 nuns, are devoted merely to spiritual exercises. There are now in France 6 vacant bishoprics, which the Emperor does not fill, because the Pope would not confirm the election.

The Diocesan Chapter of Troyes contradicts the report that the late Bishop Couers had listened to proposals from the Government to be made Patriarch of a Gallican church, in case of the separation of France from Rome.

The Address of the Bishop of Poitiers (M. Pie) to his clergy, "on the charges brought against the Sovereign Pontiff and the French clergy in the pamphlet called '*Rome, la France, et l'Italie*,' by M. Lagueronnière," was published in the *Monde*, of which it fills nearly six columns. For this Address, the Bishop was condemned "for an abuse of authority," by the Council of State. In the Address he compared the Emperor to Pontius Pilate. The Minister of Justice addressed a circular to the Procurator of the Imperial Courts, in the course of which he intimates that he has been made aware that the clergy are in the habit of criticising the policy of the Government in their sermons. These criticisms tend to create distrust and reprobation of the Emperor's action; some outrage even his person (comparing him to Pilate), while others fill weak consciences

with alarm. He then reminds his subordinates that such offenses are, by law, punishable by imprisonment for three months or two years, or by banishment from the empire. He says *significantly*, that present circumstances prove the wisdom of such enactments, adding, "It is time that the laws should vindicate their authority."

The Archbishop of Lyons, Cardinal de Bonald, had published a haughty pamphlet against the imposition of a stamp upon pastoral letters treating of political matters. He pronounces the imposition of the stamp humiliating and not to be submitted to by the Bishops. The *Siecle* says of it: "We affirm, with all the energy of our conviction and of our faith, that no government is possible in presence of this clerical omnipotence, which pretends to speak, to act, and to direct in the name of God. Any government which would wish to keep erect in the face of those clerical factions will be placed in the alternative either of humiliating itself before them, or of humbling them before it; either it must submit to their law, or they must submit to its injunctions."

PROTESTANTISM.—The Emperor on Easter Sunday gave 2,000 francs to a Protestant church in Biarritz. There are in Paris thirty Protestant places of worship, in which are held sixty-eight Sunday and twenty-one weekday services, of which the French Reformed Church gives nineteen, the Lutherans fourteen, the Free Churches nineteen, the Methodist six, the Baptist two, the various English churches eighteen, and the German eleven. To these churches are attached fifty-six Protestant day-schools, and between thirty and forty Sunday-schools. The Free Churches have two asylums for the aged, one for the blind, one for orphans; deaconesses take charge of thirty or more invalids, besides sick children, penitent women, and various other cases. A preparatory the-

ological school, and two or three seminaries for our youths, the Protestant Academy, and a few schools for young ladies, together with two excellent normal schools for teachers, secure a good education for the youth of the higher classes. Eleven religious journals (three of which are rationalistic) are published in Paris; and ten Protestant booksellers thrive, where, thirty years ago, a solitary one found it difficult even to vegetate."

THE *Central Protestant Society* has 70 missionaries, 118 places of public worship, and 50 stations. Its Preparatory school has educated 80 pupils, of whom 24 are now ministers. The Evangelical Society is employing 80 missionaries. Receipts, 116,849 francs; expenses, 142,220 francs. It is now in its fifteenth year.

THE *Missionary Society* met for its thirty-sixth annual festival. Its spheres of labor comprise fourteen stations in South Africa, which are in a prosperous state; China, to which it has sent two missionaries; two more are on the eve of their departure for Hayti, whither as Baptists they have joined the English Society, which sends them out under its auspices. The receipts have been 166,608 francs; and expenses, 167,186 francs.

THE *French and Foreign Bible Society* has sold, during its twenty-eighth year, 91,877 Bibles and Testaments; its receipts have been 64,290 francs, and expenses 61,291 francs. To the 91,877 copies of the Scripture sold by this Society, must be added 87,200 sold by the French agents of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

THE *Paris Tract Society* has in its thirty-ninth year sold 200,000 copies of its excellent Almanac, circulated 1,500,000 of its different publications.

The receipts of the Society amount to 91,283f., and its expenses to 84,443f., but a previous debt gives a deficit of 41,000f. The Society publishes no controversial tracts; it has printed seven new tracts, and four volumes this year.

THE *Société Évangélique* held its twenty-eighth anniversary. Paris, and thirty villages around, are evangelized by its agents. The churches in the Haute-Vienne and the Yonne are being consolidated. Some of the places of worship and schools are still closed, however, under the law of 1852. Its receipts have been 157,441f., and its expenses, 131,787f. But a previous debt still leaves 15,000f. deficit.

THE *Protestant Bible Society* held its forty-first anniversary. It is the oldest of the Societies. Its supplies extend beyond the frontier to the colonies. 16,575 copies of the Scriptures have been thus circulated during the year. Its receipts are 45,305f., and its expenses, 42,950f.

ITALY.—In Italy there are 264 bishops and archbishops; in all the rest of Europe, 314. The whole Roman Catholic world is divided into 1,007 bishoprics, viz., 681 in Europe, 128 in Asia, 29 in Africa, 146 in America, and 23 in Australia.

Population of Italy.—The following is at present the population of the kingdom of Italy: Piedmont, 3,815,637 inhabitants; Sardinia (the Island), 573,115; Lombardy, 2,771,647; Modena, 609,139; Parma, 508,784; Tuscany, 1,779,338; The Legations, the Marches, and Umbria, 1,960,360; Naples, 6,843,965; Sicily, 2,231,020; total, 21,093,005 inhabitants.

Population of Rome.—The population of the "Eternal City" is about one hundred and seventy-five thousand, divided into fifty-four parishes,

with 1,280 priests, 2,092 monks and members of religious orders, 1,590 nuns, and 547 ecclesiastical pupils. Exclusive of Jews, the number of inhabitants not acknowledging the Roman Church is 412.

THERE are at present, in the *Sacred College*, one cardinal named by Leo XII., twenty-one by Gregory XVI., thirty-eight by Pius IX., one reserved *in petto* in the Consistory of 26th June, 1859, and nine hats vacant—total seventy. The oldest of the cardinals is his Eminence Tosti, who is eighty-five, and has worn the purple twenty-four years; the youngest is his Eminence Milesi, forty-three, and has been a cardinal four years.

POPE PIUS IX. erected in 1860 a new see at Fortellezza, in Brazil, an Apostolic Vicariate in California, and two Apostolic Prefectures. He has also reestablished the ancient bishopric of the Armenian rite, at Neocesarea, in Asia Minor.

THE Pope has delivered an allocution in the Consistory, in reply to those who have asserted that the Papacy is incompatible with civilization, and said, that, on the contrary, the Papacy had always contributed to the diffusion of real civilization. The Pope declared that he was only opposed to that pretended modern civilization which persecutes the Church, imprisons her cardinals, bishops, and priests, suppresses religious orders, despoils the Church, and tramples justice under foot. He deplored that the Concordat had been violated in the Kingdom of Naples. The Pope declared that he would spontaneously have granted concessions, and would have accepted those which have been advised by the Catholic Sovereigns, but that he could not receive the counsels and unjust demands of an usurping government. In conclusion, the Holy Father deplored the subversion of all authority, and promised forgiveness to all who had been misled. He confided, he said, the cause of the Church

to God, the avenger of justice and right.

THERE has been established at Naples, says the *Gazetta di Torino*, a committee of priests, under the appellation of the "Union of the Ecclesiastics of Southern Italy." Their programme comprises, 1st, the creation of a journal aiming solely to instruct the people, and to propound reforms in discipline; 2d, a uniform system of preaching; 3d, gratuitous instruction in religious and political duties for all classes; 4th, assistance for the sick in the hospitals, and a method of assisting and succoring prisoners.

NAPLES.—The Italian government found 1,347,027 ducats in possession of the Conferenza des Missions, at Naples, and appropriated it as an ecclesiastical fund for future use.

The Jesuits.—The present General of the Order is Peter Beck, the successor of Rothaan. The whole number of the Order, according to recent statistics, published in Rome, is at present 7,144, being 2,292 greater than in the year 1847. One thousand are engaged in foreign missions, and there are 444 in the United States. The largest number is found in France and Italy. They have been expelled from Piedmont, Lombardy, Modena, the Marches, Umbria, Romagna and the two Sicilies. The General of the Order has addressed to Victor Emmanuel a protest against their recent suppression. After speaking of the suppression of the establishments of the Jesuits in 1848 in Piedmont, the General proceeds:

"From the time of the Italian war last year, up to the present day, the Company of Jesus has lost three convents and colleges in Lombardy, six in the Duchy of Modena, eleven in the Pontifical States, nineteen in the kingdom of Naples, and fifteen in Sicily. Every where the company has been deprived of its estates and movables, in the strictest sense of the

word. Its members, about fifteen hundred in number, have been driven from cities and houses; escorted like malefactors by soldiers from one town to another; detained in public prisons, atrociously ill-treated and insulted; even prevented from seeking an asylum in the bosom of some pious family; and in many places not even the white hairs of old age, nor the prostration caused by infirmity, were respected."

Protestantism in Italy.—As far as the influence of Sardinia reaches, religious toleration is insured. The work of evangelization will probably proceed with increased rapidity. The *Neue Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* contains a series of valuable articles on the present state and prospects of this movement. The *Waldenses* in the valleys number about 22,000; the regular Sunday morning attendance on worship is 7,350; average of communicants, partaking of the sacrament, 7,650; 81 Sunday-schools. The station at Pignerol is another position of strength. At Turin there is a congregation of 1,600 Waldenses; MM. Bert and Meille, pastors. The *Buona Novella*, edited by Meille, advocates their views; 81,372 bibles and books circulated. At Alessandria there are two preaching places; in Voghera, 30 Italians held service; there are small bands in Casale, Castelnova, and Quazzora. At Courmayeur, in the Aosta valley, M. Curie preaches to some 75 converted Roman Catholics; he is aided in his work by Mr. Gay. At Genoa, a Waldensian church was built in 1858, ministered to by Bruschi; the congregation number about 160. At Leghorn and Pisa, M. Bibet has collected flourishing congregations; at Leghorn, about 200 attend service. The Waldensian theological school is now established at Florence; it has 6 students. M. Concourde labors in the schools. Noceto and Stephen Malan have preached in Milan. Mazzarella, formerly of Genoa, is one of the ablest and most influential men among these

Italian converts; he is a Plymouthite, in respect to the church; he is now professor at Bologna. Vastavini, of Bologna, is opposed to him on these questions; he holds service there on Sunday for 30 or 40 persons. Cresy preaches in Reggio and Modena every fortnight. The Gospel is also regularly preached in Asti by Minetti; in Arcola by Dassio; in Novi by Grosso; in Alessandria by Rosetti; in Novara and Fassa by Tealdo; in Nizza by Techì; in La Spinetta by Carlino; to congregations varying from 15 to 50. The Evangelical Italian church at Turin, of about 60 members, is directed by De Sanctis. That at Genoa is under the charge of Larzomarsino, since Mazzarella was transferred to Bologna; it has about 150 members. For three hundred years, since the suppression of the beginnings of reform, the word has not been proclaimed in so many places or to so many persons.

A Madrid paper asserts that thirty thousand tracts and other works defending Protestant doctrines had been printed at London in the Spanish language, and that sixty smugglers had undertaken to introduce them into Spain.

PORTUGAL.—The struggle between this kingdom and Rome fourteen years ago, upon the rights of the crown over the East Indian bishoprics of Goa, Diu, and Damas, has operated against Romanism in the popular mind. The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception has called forth protests sustained by citations from the Bible and the Church Fathers. Finally, the effort made three years ago to introduce the Sisters of Mercy, with their Lazarist Father Confessors, failed, and the newly-awakened fear of the Jesuits has led to the formation of a Society which seeks to spread the Scriptures and exhorts to a diligent use of the same as the best means of averting the danger. So says the *N. Evang. Kirchenzeitung*.